CREATION
OF
A WORLD CENTRE
OF COMMUNICATION

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CREATION
OF A
WORLD CENTRE
OF COMMUNICATION

BY
OLIVIA CUSHING ANDERSEN
AND
HENDRIK CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN

LEGAL ARGUMENT
FROM THE
POSITIVE SCIENCE OF GOVERNMENT
BY
UMANO

THE ECONOMIC ADVANTAGES
BY
Prof. JEREMIAH W. JENKS

ROME
ANNO MDCCCXVIII

TO

OLIVIA CUSHING ANDERSEN

THE FIRST VOLUME OF THIS WORK WAS DEDICATED IN LOVING
MEMORY TO MY BROTHER, ANDREAS M. ANDERSEN, TAKEN BY
DEATH FROM THIS WORLD IN THE FULL BLOOM AND VIGOUR OF LIFE
AND CREATIVE WORK.

LEFT TO CONTINUE MY TASK ALONE, I SHOULD UNDOUBTEDLY HAVE
FAILED, HAD NOT HIS DEVOTED WIFE, OLIVIA CUSHING ANDERSEN,
COME TO MY ASSISTANCE.

HER LOYALTY AND PURITY OF SPIRIT, ABOUNDING IN THE MOST
ARDENT DESIRE TO UPHOLD CLEARLY BEFORE THE WORLD A VISION
THAT, PRACTICALLY CARRIED OUT, WOULD THROUGH UNITY AND
LOVE HARMONISE THE DIVINITY OF GOD IN MAN, FILLED MY SOUL
WITH AN INCONTROLLABLE PASSION AND SECURITY OF FAITH TO
CONTINUE TO WORK FOR HUMANITY AS A WHOLE.

I OWE TO HER GENTLE SPIRIT AND UNTIRING AID THE COMPLETION
OF THIS BOOK, AND WITH A HEART FULL OF GRATITUDE, TO HER

I DEDICATE THIS VOLUME

With the keenest sympathy and appreciation, I wish to convey my deep gratitude to the many collaborators who have assisted me in accomplishing this volume.

The untiring energy and valuable counsel as well as the inspiring suggestions of Olivia Cushing Andersen, have been of vital assistance to me.

To M. Ernest Hébrard, aided by his brother, M. Jean Hébrard, I am indebted for the architectural execution of the plans and elevations here presented. Their artistic taste and excellent judgment of practical planning upon colossal lines, have facilitated my giving a definite form to this World Centre. I also extend my warm appreciation to their assisting architects and draughtsmen as well as to the painters and engineers who have contributed valuable counsel and shown exquisite taste in their work upon these plans.

I am indebted to Umano for his contribution of the legal argument, taken from his Positive Science of Government and to Olivia Cushing Andersen for the translation of the same; to Professor Jeremiah Jenks for his contribution of the economic text; to Vicomte Raoul de Nolva for the French version, and to Ditta Augusto Danesi for their careful execution of the phototypy, also to the Ditta Garroni, for the printing, of this volume.

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BY

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ÉLEVATION DE LA TOUR DU PROGRÈS

ERNEST M. HEBRARD, ARCH.

PREFACE

A short time before the outbreak of the present Great War, the first volume of a World Centre of Communication was published with the sincere desire of laying down a definite plan and practical solution for facilitating friendly relations between countries, and was presented to the Rulers, Parliaments, leading Libraries and Universities of the world, and to a few specially distinguished individuals, internationally known to have contributed by their broad views and sympathies to the general welfare and fundamental structure of international life. This volume, besides illustrating the development of city planning from prehistoric times to the present, contained the practical working plans, scientifically carried out in detail, for a World Centre City — to serve as a covenant between peoples — in which to unite and house the most essential international interests known definitely to be useful and necessary to all Nations alike, and which, from all indications, must by force of circumstances logically develop into a harmonious form of organisation.

War, stimulating the quickest and most efficient means for destroying life, is today the most complete scientific development in existence. Military force, ruled and controlled by science, is now so perfect that man's machinery for destruction has grown stronger than himself, and cannot be arrested by one man or one group of men or one Nation.

Only one thing can counteract it: a counter-science — that is, the science of legitimately controlling international affairs. Not a science for destroying life, but for creating it with harmony, logic and divine reason, so that Nations may freely expand and develop, and tyranny, malice and hatred may eventually disappear from the earth.

In all parts of the world scientific manifestations of the most appealing kind are created and scattered, often becoming ineffectual and weak because of lack of unity. They are nowhere centralised as they should be for all men's use. Yet, as the means for destroying life have been brought together, studied, developed and used, with the result of almost world-wide destruction, so the scientific means for preserving, uplifting and beautifying life — law, medicine,

hygiene, art, physical culture, all branches of science, religion and education, in fact, all that elevates the body and develops it, all that purifies the intellect and expands it — should be brought together and centralised to form the counter-science needed for the abolition of war, and for the reconstruction rendered obligatory by its devastations.

As an effectual machinery for human development and harmony, the World Centre was conceived. For this reason its buildings for commerce, transport, industry, labour, medicine, hygiene, electricity and invention, agriculture, law, criminology, its International Court of Justice and Temple of Religions, its international press bureau and clearing house, its international colleges and its Avenue of the Nations, in which to present the products, industry and commerce of each Nation, were practically planned. To spread the idea of such a world reunion of all the common necessities of life, the first volume of plans was published and presented to the Governments, Libraries and Universities of the world. The large original drawings of the plans, conceived by the author and carried out under the direction of Mr. E. Hébrard, architect for the French Government, with the assistance of some forty architects, engineers and artists, are at the disposal of the Governments for their consideration.

The present volume, containing the legal and economic aspects of a World Centre, forms a sequel to the first. The legal argument, "The Positive Science of Government", is contributed by Umano. The economic argument, "Economic Advantages of a World City", is the result of investigations by Dr. Jeremiah W. Jenks — one of the ablest American economists — and of his staff of collaborators, who, working in harmony, after several years of research have facilitated a clear comprehension of the many economic reasons for the practical utility and definite establishment of a World Centre of Communication.

Umano, a distinguished scientist and philosopher and former judge from Milan, after 18 years of practice, renounced his judgeship to devote himself to problems of religion and government, and has evolved a system — world embracing in its scope and utility, noble and profound in its intention — which, it is not too much to say, places him among Italians in the rank of Macchiavelli, Galileo, Giordano Bruno or Mazzini.

The Positive Science of Government, which we here publish, forms part of his system tending to bind all the scientific knowledge of our own day into a consecutive whole, leading from the life of the body to that of the spirit, and including the historical development of peoples from the earliest times of barbarous anarchy, through the present state of international anarchy, to the true International State, the constructive functioning of which will be found fully explained in the second part of his work in the present volume. On account

of the great length and intricate profundity of the original text, it is not possible to publish here the whole of this great work on government, that can be examined by scholars nor to follow the exact order of development chosen by the author. To render it accessible without the prolonged study otherwise necessary, the method has been adopted of presenting his essential line of argument leading directly to its conclusion — which is the complete and probably only solution of the war problem and future world harmony: the International Constitution — a solution which, in an attempt to prevent such a war as the present, Umano outlined in his “*Essai de Constitution Internationale*” (Cornély & C^{ie}, Paris, 1907) and the functioning of which involves the creation of a World Centre of Communication.

President Wilson, in his message to Russia, “What are we fighting for?” was inspired to say: “Practical questions can only be settled by practical means. Phrases will not accomplish the result. Effective readjustment will; and whatever readjustments are necessary must be made”. And further; “The free people of the world must draw together in some common covenant, some genuine and practical cooperation that will in effect combine their force to secure peace and justice in the dealings of Nations with one another. The brotherhood of mankind must be given a structure of force and legality. The Nations must realise their common life and effect a workable partnership to secure that life against the aggressions of autocratic and self pleasing power”.

In the sincere faith that such a covenant can be formed by the International Constitution, that it can function by means of a World Centre of Communication, and that the moral, spiritual, intellectual and economic advantages proceeding there-from, will effectually unite and belong to the world as a whole — we present this legal, economic and architectural conception, created to serve people of all Nations, in the earnest hope that those who have the power to act upon it will do so, for the sake of uplifting the immortal spirit of humanity and of furthering its development.

HENDRIK CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN.

Rome, 1918.

PART I

A WORLD CENTRE
OF
COMMUNICATION

LEGAL ARGUMENT

FROM THE

POSITIVE SCIENCE OF GOVERNMENT

BY

UMANO

FORMER ITALIAN JUDGE

INTRODUCTION

As, in order to read, it is necessary to have learned the alphabet — so in order to speak of politics it is necessary to have learned *the meaning of political words*. As in order to speak of any branch of learning it is necessary to know the principles relating to it — so in order to speak of government and politics it is necessary to have *principles relating to government and politics* at one's command.

As in order to cure a sick man it is necessary first to know from what illness he suffers, and to know from what illness he suffers, it is necessary to have medical knowledge and in order to have medical knowledge it is necessary to have taken the trouble to study medicine thoroughly and not to be content with the old empirical follies of herbalists, witches, priests and barbers — so in order to save the Nations suffering from a disease such as is this war, it is necessary first to know what causes the war disease it is necessary to have a science of government, and to have a science of government it is necessary to take the trouble of studying it positively and not to be content with the old empirical follies.

II.

The alphabet and the meaning of words! Positive principles and the science of government! But these — many will object — are things taught in schools and already known.

They are taught in schools and already known? Very well then. Let him who can

without causing a smile, say — what is arbitrariness — what is law — what are rights and duties — what are justice, equity, liberty; independence, the State, the Kingdom, the Fatherland, the Nation. Then he may talk about the rest — about representative government in comparison with despotic government — about war and peace — about civilisation — about nationality.

One need but issue this invitation in order to see lips — after a disconcerted pause — either prudently close or else open to utter a torrent of arrogant and foolish words.

Let us say rather that nothing is known on these subjects just because we have not yet wholly, scientific institutions. This is known by professors in all countries.

III.

For reasons which we shall learn, schools are not yet wholly scientific institutions.

Many of them are still party instruments. Scientific truth is not yet wholly taught in them, but only that part of it which, because of privileged or superstitious interests, it pleases men in government to disseminate.

In Universities, the Law School is the one of which this is most true. This school, a very temple to those many minds who understand the supreme civilising importance of law, is for many deficient or superficial persons, merely a field in which they

know that they can hide their deficiencies or defend their superficiality.

Public Right — which is the principal part of this school, and consists in the relations between individuals and the relations between the several States — is still as empirical as was medicine before anatomy was known. In this school they have not advanced beyond dissertations upon Pure Right, upon the rights of man isolated from society or from contact with his fellows, upon ideal and absolute Right to which this inevitably led — to the confusion between right and morality — to the absurdities about the right of peoples — the imbecilities about the just which is good, beautiful and true, the good which is beautiful, true and just, etc. No positive principles of the Science of Right upon which scholars can concordantly found their various legal tendencies and their several political parties, are taught in these schools. Only empirical phrases are taught in them which anybody, even if deficient, can employ, and the more so if he be a superficial student. And it is because of these phrases that politics and justice are in the present state of confusion.

In the condition we are in, a university professor who wishes to teach positive principles of physics, of chemistry, of biology, or of astronomy is more or less respected and is allowed to do so. But a professor who should desire to teach positive principles of government would not find a Commission that would give him his Chair. It is for this reason that the cultured and uncultured, when they speak of politics are about on a par. It is for this reason that in speaking with more or less presumption of politics on the basis of what was taught them in schools or of what, as the result of such education, they hear in speeches or read in newspapers, both uncultured and cultured have 99 chances to 1 of saying foolish things. And it is for this reason that when a foreigner is to be honoured with an academic degree, the University of the place names him *doctor juris*, even if his profession is that of a famous bridge-builder. In fact, the science of right

having remained occult and astrological, one may presume that the newly-honoured person also, by means of his ability, can somehow catch hold and speak on this subject like a doctor.

Briefly, if the Pharaohs and the Chaldeans could return to life, they would feel humiliated at not understanding anything of what is taught today by all the other University Faculties. Discouraged, they would feel like inhabitants of another planet. But when they entered the Law School, they would feel relieved. They would utter joyful cries. They would throw their arms about their neighbours' necks, exclaiming, « Brothers, friends, descendants, certainly we understand you! You truly are worthy of us, your ancestors ». Indeed the falsities and stupidities still taught in University Law Schools are exactly the same as in the time of the Pharaohs and Chaldeans.

IV.

It was by reason of these surviving falsehoods that the present war was made possible. And therefore this war will be defined in history as the GREAT WAR OF GREAT IGNORANCE.

It is useless to make faces, useless to protest, useless to gesticulate with arms and legs in order to deny this assertion, which goes against so many writings and speeches, and against so many publications illustrative of the war. This war will be defined in history thus — THE GREAT WAR OF GREAT IGNORANCE.

Certainly today the precise and indisputable tone of this affirmation may sound offensive to many ears. But it will have a welcome sound on the day in which the following — or another Positive Science of Government — will have been found necessary and will have finally driven out the poison of divine right which, as it was first cause of the monstrous political ignorance that has survived till our day, so was chief element in all past wars and in this war too. Then it will be understood that this war was bound to

occur at the time it did, because on the one side it was engineered throughout long years of diabolical and marvellous preparatory measures to take place at this time — on the other side its occurrence at this time was rendered easy because of long years of absurd and ridiculous talk against it.

V.

This may be so — many others will object — it may be true, but now is not the time to study and learn, now that the war is pressing upon everybody and distracting minds from a calm study of social and political problems. If even before the war everybody, owing to the stress of modern life, found it impossible to come to a calm understanding of things, imagine whether this can be done now in the midst of war and when there is such need for quick action.

To say this is indeed to speak hastily, without reflecting that comprehension is the first and most important part of action. It is to speak not as relatives of but as strangers to the dead and dying in war. It is to speak not as thinking altruists but as thoughtless egoists. It is as if one should say. «The patient N. N. is in a serious condition, and the worst of it is that nobody has yet discovered the nature of the illness that is carrying him to the grave. Study is necessary. A microscopic examination of the blood and urine should be made in order to discover the disease and the remedy that may cure it. But there is no time for this now. Now he must be treated with the usual remedies, even if these be empirical and incapable of saving him from death.»

To say that there is not time is to speak hurriedly without reflecting that, while some should attend to the patient meanwhile, with the empirical and unpromising remedies in use, others should attend to the study of the disease and to its certain cure by means of the real remedy. Which is as to say, that while some people should attend to curing this war by means of the empirical and unpromising remedy of victory, others

should attend to studying the war disease for the sake of applying to this war the real and certain remedy which is the end of all wars.

VI.

Haste, which in our time the many ways of rapid locomotion have brought to the point of folly, has really become a calamity against which a special public health committee should provide the necessary measures. How many evils today are created by hurry and by the arrogant and stupid presumption it produces, can hardly be imagined. The outbreak of this deadly and destructive war could have been delayed, and in the meantime perhaps avoided for ever, if it had not been for hurry and its accompanying arrogant and stupid presumption, because of which war was declared, when more time for consideration might have shown that resistance would not be so spiritless as seemed to be expected.

It is because of haste, aggravated by governmental ignorance and warlike anger, that in the terrible perils of this war we hear such absurdities as the following. Each side says that this war must end by its own victory; but each one adds that, afterwards, the barbarism of wars must cease.

Not more absurd would be two fighters each one of whom should say to the other that he will bite off his opponent's ear and then live at peace with him. Each one would say this trusting that he himself would succeed in biting off the other's ear. But the one who remained disfigured and earless would speak again and declare that his opponent must consent to wait, the time for peace not having yet come since he must first bite off both the other's ears before it could be considered.

No more absurd would be the inhabitants of a street, who, continually fighting and stabbing one another, should one day proclaim that they must really conclude their quarrels and stabbings, to which end they would propose having one final battle, one

last outburst of savagery, after which they would agree to live in civilised and durable peace.

Precisely at this mental level are those who say — « The barbarism of wars must end. Nations must give themselves a civilised adjustment. This war must be the last. Forward, therefore, with every kind of old and new armament so that we can seize from each other such regions and provinces as we can tear away. Then we shall live in civilised and durable peace. » Such people, because of haste, aggravated by ignorance and anger, do not reflect that if there should be a victor after so horrible a war, the vanquished, whichever he may be, will certainly not be a coward. Vengeance will be his one great and magnificent aim in life. If his own generation should be incapable of carrying it out, the next or future generations will deem such vengeance a sacred duty.

It is because of haste, aggravated by governmental ignorance and warlike anger, that the same absurdity is repeated in another form — that is, in saying that after this war there will be a *Society of Nations*, that will prevent the possibility of other wars — without, however, stating the constitutive terms of this Society, which if known beforehand might well be the agreements by which the conflicts of this war could be solved. This absurdity is similar to that of doctors who standing about a patient should say — « We have a sure remedy for this kind of disease, but we won't give it to this patient; we will give it to him after having vainly, with damage to his organism and with peril to his life, made him drink all the old empirical and useless remedies ».

And it is because of haste, aggravated by ignorance and anger, that — just as without due reflection the outbreak of this war was allowed to occur — so, after the hope of a triumphant victory was found to be a delusion, the pretence began that this war should end by leaving the world as it was before, without the trouble of finding a radical remedy for the future. And thus many do nothing

but sigh for the war to end quickly and in the usual way, that is, by the misfortune of another peace treaty, another scrap of paper.

VII.

A still greater misfortune than this war hangs over poor humanity, which does not perceive it and goes unawares to meet it. The greatest misfortune would be for this war to end in the usual way, that is, by the usual peace treaty.

— But wars can only end by peace treaties.

— They can only end by peace treaties when they are to be followed by other wars. In fact, all the wars that have occurred were preceded by peace treaties and consisted in the tearing up of the same. Briefly, while the anarchical barbarism of national independences lasts and there is lacking an *International Constitution* — which shall constrain States to live together legally, and give the Nations and individuals of which it is composed the possibility of dominating by their own forces of mind, body and wealth, as in individual, communal or national affairs, so in international affairs — the necessity of alternative war and peace can but persist. Such peace always has been and continues to be a deceptive pause between wars. Peace treaties always were and still are nothing but scraps of paper, such as, for example, rent contracts would be in a Nation where no national governmental authority existed to give them legal value and enforcement.

It is the will of all Their Belligerent Majesties, Excellencies and Newspapers that this war should be carried through so thoroughly as never to be repeated and as to end in a truly durable peace. The rulers of the attacked Nations make it their special business to repeat to the point of boredom that « an inconclusive peace would be favourable to Germany and that they have decided not to lay down arms until they have reached the aim which seems to them to be above all others, that of rendering impossible the repetition of such criminal aggression as that

of which the imperialism of the Central Empires bears the responsibility ». Very well then. We echo this statement but add — this war must be so thoroughly carried through as to end in something very different from the usual peace treaty.

But while we say that this war must not end in the usual way, we must nevertheless realise that ignorance, anger and haste may cause it to end in precisely this way, that is, with the usual peace treaty, with another scrap of paper. Because ignorance, anger and haste hide all the absurdity of a new peace treaty that, suddenly, in a month, may be written secretly, behind the peoples' backs, by autocratic and democratic ministers. With memorable pens, on the memorable cloth of the memorable table in the memorable hall set apart for the memorable meetings of the memorable peace delegates, the memorable new treaty will be written and become — a new scrap of paper that, secretly behind the peoples' backs, must solve that infinitude of international conflicts which have cropped up, owing to which this war broke out, and that other infinitude of international conflicts which have cropped up on the fields of this same war. A new scrap of paper that must solve once for all, secretly and behind the peoples' backs, all the past, present and future European, Asiatic, African and American conflicts of Kingdoms and Empires, of Nations and peoples, of races and civilisations, in a word, all the eventual conflicts capable of causing wars. It is impossible not to laugh even in the midst of such tragedy, so ridiculous are the rocks that, in the shape of statesmen, emerge from the political ocean believing this and causing it to be believed.

And to think that in the midst of such pyramidal senselessness there are those who repeat that now is not the time to study and learn, that war distracts minds from any deep comprehension even more than did the feverish and hurried life before the war.

Haste then, even more than governmental ignorance or warlike anger, arrogant and stupidly presumptuous haste is the greatest enemy of the day and must be feared, fought and conquered.

VIII.

In order to find a worthy way out of this war, it will be necessary to bury the empirical stupidities about Public Right which, having come from despotisms and having been overthrown in revolutionary tumults, are nevertheless still taught in schools and are still chattered about in State affairs and consequently veil the eyes and cloud the minds that are taking part in this great human crisis.

To undertake a positive governmental study is the only way of issuing from this horrible war with sanity and safety. Its importance is comparable to the positive study of an incomprehensible and horrible bodily disease which is to be cured. But as this undertaking is now prepared for by the present work, it can be accomplished even in a short time. In order to do this it will suffice that the men in government called to be the « authentic interpreters of the peoples for whom they stand » (the phrase is Asquith's) should not be the deafest of all. To them, therefore, earnest and attentive we hope, we make our first appeal.

ERNEST. M. HEBRARD ARCH.

UN PALAIS DES CONGRES

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE BARBARISM OF INDIVIDUALS IN THE NON-STATE OF ANARCHICAL INDEPENDENCES AMONG THEMSELVES, TO THE PRIMITIVE CIVILISATION OF THESE INDIVIDUALS HERE AND THERE LEGALLY ORGANISED INTO TRIBE STATES.

Civilisation is the passing from anarchy to government, and is not confined to humanity, but is attained in a certain degree by the inferior animals also.

The greater part of the beasts of which we have knowledge do not progress, because they are a residuum of those that once lived. This residuum was produced by man through a process of inverse selection, and consists of large and small beasts cerebrally inferior, which escaped extermination because of their vegetarian harmlessness but which were reduced to *breeding slavery*, that is, to a fatiguing, rationed and guarded existence. Or else it consists of small, cerebrally inferior carnivorous beasts, neither exterminated by man nor adopted from anarchy by him, but left to a life of *preying persecution*, that is, to a precarious and fugitive existence.

The beasts brought by man from anarchy to a state of breeding slavery, possessing little liberty of movement yet having at the same time the necessities of life, were thus exonerated from the offensive and defensive actions of the struggle for existence. As a consequence of their brains thus undergoing little constraint towards reflective development, these animals remained and still remain fatally condemned to an existence guided almost entirely by instinct and very little by reason, therefore to a low, unprogressive life, no different from that of their beast ancestors.

But a *few species of volatiles and insects* — having, because of their power of high flight or their extreme smallness, been able to escape extermination as well as the breeding slavery and preying persecution of man, were in a position to maintain their liberty anarchically unlimited until, by the cerebral progress of their successive generations, they also reached the point of knowing how to limit it through government. They were able, that is, to overcome the natural non-State of anarchy and to develop *some aptitude towards the industry of government*. They were capable, in short, the more so if insects, of organising themselves into a despotic and tyrannical government, that is, into the primitive governmental form. And they give the spectacle of a marvellously superior and somewhat civilised life in comparison with that of other beasts, just because of the fact of their not being restricted by man through forced labour, rationing and seclusion, nor harassed by an existence continuously fugitive and precarious.

This permitted, and still permits them, to substitute for their own unlimited, i. e. small, anarchical liberty, their own greater governmental liberty; to live guided by instinct, certainly, but also by reason, within the restricted limits allowed them by their cerebral inferiority and their despotic and tyrannical government. This permitted and still permits them, therefore, to turn their brains towards superior vital and pleasant

activities, within the restricted and insuperable limits fixed by their cerebral inferiority and despotic and tyrannical government — towards activities, that is, not needful for the urgent requirements of the struggle of existence only but towards a limited industry of government, towards some kind of trade, some art, some medicine, some family life, towards even, perhaps, some kind of religion — towards all such industry which, in its entirety, constitutes some *fixed civilisation*.

And now let us pass to man.

Men always progress more, ever do more and better than their ancestors did, and consequently live differently from them, because they are the descendants of the cerebrally superior and corporally middle sized beasts which — having succeeded in rising upon their hind limbs, and having thus acquired a better position for observation, for thought and for the existence struggle, in comparison with all other beasts — became primitive men, took to exterminating governmentally as well as individually, the beasts which, because of superior mentality and carnivorous inclination, were offensive to them, and therefore severed their own life more completely from the connecting links with that of the most similar beasts.

Among these primitive men and women there reigned the independence and barbarism of anarchy. Everyone could, with unlimited individual liberty, use his forces of mind, of body and of wealth in order to increase them and make them prevail, to dominate in proportion to them, to live more securely and more according to his own egotistic or altruistic pleasure. And the fact that everybody's forces were thus employed in conflicts unrestrained by legality, had the effect of depriving the individual of the liberty of employing them in vital and pleasant activities, superior to those needed for the urgent requirements of existence, and consequently rendered his brain incapable of the scientific activities of crafts, art, medicine, family and religion. In short, the greater part of everybody's work went to waste.

Instead of being employed in the production of wealth, i. e., the production of things apt to make life easy, healthy and beautiful, it *was lost* in individual production and individual exercise of arms. The struggle for existence therefore became worse than that among the beasts. And for everybody life was a series of deceits, trickeries, homicides and wars, interrupted by brief intervals of insecure peace. Consequently, civilisation did not exist.

But the Universe can only sustain itself inasmuch as its varied and complex forces remain only transitorily in the disorder of independence and unlimited liberty, that is, in the disorder of equivalent conflicts. The more intense these become, the more they oblige the various and complex universal forces to a new adjustment, to transition from disorder to a new order through the domination of the greater over the less.

Thus the strongest men and women of those times, though they were unable to conceive or express this with their primitive brains, yet acting by strength of instinctive intuition — a force which directs unconsciously the greater part of our intelligent and successful actions — could not but feel the disorder of so many equivalent individual human forces to be intolerable, and were not slow in imposing themselves as despotic authorities, through the process of multiple domination, i. e., the hierarchical imposition of the stronger over the weaker.

Having then begun to dictate laws, that is, to create the rights and duties of a dawning justice, and having thus organised and legalised the struggle for existence under one or other of their *tribal despotic governments*, they formed various *Tribe States* out of the *non-State of individual independence and anarchy*.

By the action of these strongest men and women, who had risen to be *despotic tribal authorities and creators of the Tribes*, the *barbarism of individual independence ceased*, the unlimited liberty of individuals to use

their own forces of mind, of body and of wealth came to an end and *despotic tribal tyranny began*, with its ensuing slavery. But in the meantime the *life* of men and of women here and there *could begin to be civilised, and civilisation began in fact to exist*. In short, the various and complex forces of the men and women forming the Tribes began;

1) to be submitted to the curb of legality and of consequent justice;

2) to be employed somewhat more in vital and pleasant activities, superior to those needed for the urgent requirements of existence, therefore rather more in the scientific activities of crafts, art, medicine, family and religion;

3) to make humanity progress and develop its brain.

This progress and this development remained poor, however, being infected by the *two sores of the primitive State and primitive civilisation*, the two sores with which the State of civilisation was obliged to begin;

1) the *external sore*, consisting in the *barbarism of anarchy and in the necessity of wars outside of the Tribe State*, that is, consisting for the moment in the *non-State* of anarchical independence among the unorganised Tribes, which in itself produced the necessity of inter-tribal wars;

2) the *internal sore*, consisting in the *arbitrariness of despotism and in the necessity of tyrannies within the Tribe State*, that is, in the State of arbitrary domination and slavish governmental dependence within each Tribe, where the struggle for existence was organised, certainly, but in a despotic and tyrannical way.

The *external sore of primitive civilisation* had indeed manifested itself with the rising of tribal governments, who had discovered it and had begun to *cure it by wars*, which was the only way they could, that is,

by means of restrictions, as we shall see. At first, indeed, such a sore can be imagined as being as great as the whole Earth. It was in reality as great as the space of Earth lying outside the boundaries of each Tribe, where was the starting point for intertribal wars.

The internal sore of primitive civilisation, on the other hand, had also formed with the rise of tribal governments, but these had not discovered it — they had produced it by the very fact of being despotic and tyrannical. Therefore — while it could but be superficial and *less malignant* at the beginning, when the despotic and tyrannical governments, being beginners, functioned with little despotism and little tyranny — subsequently it could but become *more malignant* in proportion as despotic and tyrannical governments, continually falling into greater despotism and greater tyranny, ever *deepened* it. But this must be better explained. We must understand thoroughly why the internal sore was at the beginning superficial and less malignant.

The despotism of those early tribal governors, because primitive, was pure, as everything primitive is pure. It had been assumed on the spot by those whose force was evidently greater, and had immediately produced a great deal of the light of relative civilisation through *the purity of primitive science and primitive religion*. It had soon been possible to begin to conceive and to propagate these through a primitive sincere and *moderate monopoly of schools and churches*.

This despotism certainly was coincident with tyranny and slavery, but — because the boundaries of the Tribe were not extensive, because its inhabitants were not numerous, were provided with sufficient wealth for subsistence and were very close and organised in civil struggle — it came about with a reciprocal sense and understanding of the worth, sorrows and needs of both governors and governed. Consequently it was coexistent with altruism, that is to say, with almost paternal and filial feelings which —

a) substituted friendly relations for the formerly anarchical and barbarous relations and which, b) consequently extinguished, amongst the inhabitants of the Tribes, the egotistic desire to exploit one another for their own enrichment, and to live only according to each one's pleasure.

This despotism, because primitive, was not inconsistent with certain paternal and filial feelings of altruism which — a) conciliated the needs and desires of the heads with those of the followers, b) produced equity in the laws and justice in the application of the rights and duties contained in them.

Briefly, this despotism on account of its primitive character, a) became *patriarchal* in the family and *pastoral* in the State, hence immune from the *two spectres* of civil corruption, luxury and misery, b) made the majority as little disposed to rebellions and

revolutions as to the other less violent means of reaction, c) made the majority solidary in wars.

These wars, however, because of the primitive organisation of the inimical Tribes, were simple, and did not require excessive armament.

And therefore *conscription was not entirely slavery and not odious*. Therefore *forced military service and labour were almost voluntary* as well as the forced *tribute of free work*. And therefore, since there was nothing deceitful in the governors' calls to patriotic wars, there was nothing of a lie in the words *valour, glory and honour*, whereof such calls were made, there was nothing foolish or brutish in the heroism wherewith the governed answered the calls. And therefore *the word Fatherland was sacred*.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE BARBARISM OF TRIBES IN THE NON-STATE OF ANARCHICAL INDEPENDENCE AMONG THEMSELVES, TO THE AMPLIFIED CIVILISATION OF CITY, KINGDOM AND EMPIRE STATES.

The process of development from Tribe to City, from City to Kingdom, from Kingdom to Empire, was fundamentally the same, and we can here follow broadly the causes, motives, general line of conduct and results.

Among the multiplied Tribes there existed the independence and barbarism of anarchy, and beside this, in a restricted form, there was found the malignant external sore of primitive civilisation. The men and women who as rulers and ruled composed each Tribe, while for *internal affairs* they had the curb of legality, which limited each one's liberty to use his own forces in domestic matters, and had up to a certain point organised, ruled and civilised the internal struggle for existence, had for *foreign affairs* no such curb of legality. They had none, because there was lacking among the Tribes *an authority*, even of a despotic and tyrannical character, which by laws and prescriptions of rights and duties might circumscribe the liberty of individual and State forces in their external application, and might also organise, rule and civilise the intertribal struggle for existence.

The tribal rulers, together with the free-men, i. e., those permitted to work freely in medicine, crafts, art and commerce, could, in short, either individually or collectively make unlimited use of their own forces of mind, of body and of wealth, in order to in-

crease them and make them prevail, in order to dominate in proportion to them and in order to live more securely and more according to their own pleasure. Abroad, therefore, individual and collective forces were occupied in conflicts unrestrained by legality, conflicts which, reverberating through the interior, diminished everybody's liberty to employ these forces in vital and pleasant activities superior to those needed for the urgent requirements of existence. Consequently, the greater part of the Tribe's work — owing to the exigencies produced in the interior by inter-tribal conflicts and intertribal wars — went to waste. It went to waste in tribal production and the tribal exercise of arms rather than in the production of wealth, i. e., of things apt to make everybody's life easy, healthy and beautiful. The struggle for existence abroad was, therefore, relatively to other Tribes, worse than that among the beasts. And life in its inter-tribal character, therefore, was like that of primitive barbarous men and primitive barbarous women, that is, a series of deceptions, trickeries, homicides and wars interrupted by brief intervals of insecure peace.

Wars thus began to divide themselves into *wars of patriotic defence* and *wars of patriotic aggrandisement*;

1) *wars of patriotic defence*, that is, wars to prevent men and women organised into other Tribes, or as yet unorganised, from

making incursions into the territory of one's own Tribe, whether for the sole purpose of preying upon it, that is, of appropriating its riches, or for that of dominating and governing it;

2) *wars of patriotic aggrandisement*, that is, wars for any of the following complex purposes: — to invade, dominate and govern neighbouring Tribes — to suppress their patriotic independence, considered inimical to the patriotic independence of the invading Tribe — to extend the boundaries of the invading Tribe as far as the boundaries of the invaded Tribes — to secure a greater field of wealth, either by appropriation or subsequent production, within the amplified boundaries — to afford an outlet for the increase in population where the means of subsistence were insufficient — to placate the internal aspirants to government, engaged in revolutionary attempts, that is to say, to deviate their desire to increase their own forces, to prevail and to dominate within their own Fatherland, towards another Tribe, which, if and when conquered by them, would be submitted to their government — to find among the conquered Tribes fresh sources of population to exploit as labouring and military slaves and as consumers of commercial products — to be able, with the increased force ensuing upon successful invasion, to live better and more securely, that is, more comfortably — to be able, possibly, to offer more successful resistance to the incursions of more distant Tribes.

Thus we can see that civilisation did not exist between Tribe and Tribe, whereas, subject to the sore of tyrannical despotism, it did possess an insecure existence in the interior of individual Tribes.

Thus the external sore of primitive civilisation — with natural and as yet but slightly malignant afflux from the internal one, which remained superficial and less malignant — caused *tribal wars of patriotic defence and patriotic aggrandisement* to break out.

Among the rulers and freemen of the various Tribes there were as yet no supporters of *armed equilibrium*, supporters, that is, of the doctrine that States should be prepared for war to an extent always proportionate to the warlike preparations of neighbouring Tribes, that States should thus be eternally ready for war without ever making it, meanwhile impoverishing themselves in the maintenance of these useless arms and armies. Nor were there any supporters of *obligatory arbitration*, that is, of the doctrine that States certainly should rule their internal affairs by themselves, through struggles for governmental domination, productive of various successive internal laws, but that they should submit their foreign affairs, even when important and sacred, to be ordered through an obligatory submission to the peacemaking arbitration of irresponsible arbitrators — capable, in fact, of arresting their turn of domination and progress. The rulers and free people of the various Tribes, as real statesmen, felt, a) that the disorder of so many individual and State forces operating outside of the Tribes, was intolerable, the more so if these forces were balanced and equivalent, b) that an equilibrium of warlike forces could produce nothing but a delay in the final *clash* which, when it came, would be aggravated by prolonged foreign barbarism, by more intense reciprocal armament, and by an extension of reciprocal bad feeling between combatants, c) that it was inconceivable that the progressive future of a State should depend upon the arbitrariness of intrusive peacemakers and arbitration experts.

Thus the strongest men and women, who as rulers or freemen had risen to eminence in the strongest Tribes, were not long in understanding, under the suggestion of their chief, that it was necessary to put an end to the external sore of anarchy and incessant wars among Tribes, by reproducing the process that had taken place among the individuals of which these were composed. Consequently, *enormously increasing* their individual and State forces of mind, of body and of wealth, increasing them for a *supreme*

war of conquest of the other Tribes: using artifice and lies to provoke this war against Tribes which were less strong but more dangerous, because more menacing; summoning the slave sons of their own Tribe to the sacrifices of war for the defence and greatness of the Fatherland in accents still almost paternal (an appeal that was still a true one, for there was nothing of a lie in the words *valour, glory, honour*); obtaining not a foolish but a sensible and disciplined service from such slave sons of the Fatherland; inciting the captains to heroism, by promises of military promotion and high governmental offices in the Tribes to be conquered; inciting the troops to heroism, by *tolerated intoxications of pillage, of ruin, of incendiarism and of lust*; seducing by the process of multiple domination the subordinate rulers and the freemen of these Tribes, who were proud and strong enough to mock at the accusation of being *traitors to their own Fatherland*, to stir up their troops to rebellion and surrender, and to make common cause for a *greater Fatherland* in the government of which they would share; and carrying off the eventual victory because of their so great supremacy in forces of mind, of body and of wealth, they could consequently do what now follows, that is: — by command and in the name of their Head;

1) they could impose themselves, as despotic authorities over those Tribes which had been defeated and conquered, and undertake to dictate laws for them, that is, to create the rights and duties of a new justice;

2) they could despoil of their lands those who, owing to their greater force either of mind or of body or of wealth or of all together, had occupied and worked them, or had had them worked, and had made themselves *proprietors* of them, but who now, because of having fought as enemies and having been defeated, had become slaves to be sold to the highest bidder;

3) they could distribute such lands, with their resulting wealth, a) in part to those who, as patriotic warriors, had signalised

themselves in bravery, cunning and trickery, b) in part to those who, as foreign traitors, had signalised themselves in favouring mutiny and insurrection;

4) they could free, that is, permit to work freely in medicine, crafts, art and commerce, many of the slaves who had most distinguished themselves in injuring the enemy;

5) they could extend their boundaries to the limits of the boundaries of the conquered Tribes, thus — a) producing the enlargement of their own Tribe, which, by such domineering annexations, became a *City*, while the annexed Tribes became *Boroughs*, b) organising the struggle for existence among the individuals who formed the *City* and the individuals who formed the connected *Boroughs* under one form or another of *despotic government*, c) creating various *City States* out of the *non-State of independence and tribal anarchy*.

Thus, following the action of these strongest men and women, who as rulers and ruled rose to power in the strongest Tribe and annexed others less strong and so formed a *City* — so for similar reasons and by the same procedure, *Cities* and their annexed *Boroughs*, conquering other *Cities* and *Boroughs*, became *Kingdoms* with the former *City* as *Capital*, and *Kingdoms* by the same procedure of conquest similarly became *Empires*, turning the royal *Capital* into an imperial *Capital*. By the action, therefore, of such men and women strongest in their time and place who together became despotic authorities, creators first of the *City*, then of the *Kingdom*, then of the *Empire*, the barbarism of *Tribe, City, Kingdom* independences successively began to cease; the unlimited liberty of the annexed parts to use abroad their individual and *State* forces of mind, of body and of wealth ceased, and *despotic City, Kingdom, Empire* tyranny began, with its connected slavery, which became less and less primitive, more and more malignant. But in the meantime, *it began to be possible for the life of men and women to be civilised*

within a wider radius, and *civilisation began to be able to exist* under securer and better conditions.

The men and women of the defeated, annexed Tribes, Cities or Kingdoms :

1) entered into the orbit of wider legality ;

2) mixed with one another and among the victors. (Some, however, for egotistic or altruistic ends, took the attitude of being tribune, that is, hypocritically or sincerely took the attitude of being the indomitable custodians of ancient independence, often thus obtaining from the new authorities, for the sake of quiet living, the control of a few small affairs of local government, and, for the necessities connected with these affairs some zones of ground which thus became Tribe, City or Kingdom domain) ;

3) *extended the zone of their internal affairs* submitting them to the curb of legality and rendering internal affairs that had formerly been foreign ;

4) began to form *City, Kingdom or Empire, unity of race, of language, of morals and of civilisation* (let us note that morals mean nothing but customary, i. e., habitual,

manner of thinking and of acting) with distinctions relating to the part to which they belonged.

Moreover, the men and women of undefeated but endangered Tribes, Cities or Kingdoms by similar proceedings began to form other *various City, Kingdom or Empire unities of race, of language, of morals and of civilisation*.

What is supremely important to note is that, through domination over the Tribe States and by the advent of City States, the barbarism of the non-State of anarchical independence was reduced and civilisation, consisting in the state of legal organisation, was extended. In short, the varied and complex forces of men and women :

1) were more broadly submitted to the curb of legality and of its consequent justice ;

2) could better be employed in vital and pleasant activities, superior to those needed for the urgent requirements of life, hence better employed in the scientific activities of crafts, art, medicine, family and religion ;

3) caused humanity better to progress and to develop its brains.

CHAPTER III.

THE TWO STATE SORES.

Such progress and such development, however, still remained relatively small, being still infected by the *two sores of the primitive State and primitive civilisation*, which gradually became equally malignant, but whose malignity later became inverted. Indeed :

1) *the external sore*, consisting in the barbarism of anarchy abroad and in the consequent necessity of foreign wars, produced the *non-State* of anarchical independence outside of each City, Kingdom or Empire, where the struggle for existence remained unorganised — so that, it became as much *more reduced* as was the space occupied by each of these, relatively to the unoccupied space of earth — so that, it remained malignant but less extensive, or as great as the space of earth lying outside the boundaries of each aggregate State, where was the starting-point for inter-State wars ;

2) *the internal sore*, consisting in the arbitrariness of despotism in the interior and in the consequent necessity of internal tyrannies, now produced a State of more arbitrary domination and more slavish governmental dependence in the interior of each aggregate, where the struggle for existence was certainly organised but in a despotic and tyrannical government that had deteriorated and become malign in character.

This malignant deepening of the internal sore of primitive civilisation must, however,

be well understood. It could not help happening in each City, Kingdom and Empire as a consequence of these three causes — a) extension of boundaries, b) multiplication of inhabitants, c) compression of intellects. Three simultaneous causes which we must here understand, beginning with the first.

1) *Extension of government boundaries*. — This was the first cause of governmental corruption and occurred through the transformation of the strongest Tribes into Cities surrounded by Boroughs, of the strongest Cities into Kingdoms, of the strongest Kingdoms into Empires. It made all the inhabitants, whether rulers or ruled, more distant from one another and therefore less sensitive and less understanding of one another's worth, sorrows and needs. It widened the relations between rulers and ruled, so that the former were in the position of having to govern rather by means of subalterns than directly in person, with the following consequences.

Superior rulers — beginning to lack at the same time both the sense and restraint of altruism and of immediate responsibility in government — developed a *wicked greed and mad vanity for enrichment*, which could not be otherwise satisfied than — a) by imposing tyrannical excesses of work upon enslaved subjects, who, however, were permitted in their turn to indemnify themselves by oppressing men slaves by forced labour and by

subjecting women slaves to prostitution, b) by artificial provocations to war against very rich neighbouring Cities, Kingdoms or Empires, even if these were peaceful, with the object of hurling against them hordes of military slaves and of despoiling them for aims of personal greed and vain enrichment rather than for motives of patriotic defence or aggrandisement

Inferior rulers — coming at the same time to lack the sense and curb of altruism and also to some extent the curb of subjection to their distant superior governors, the more so if with or without reason they thought these no stronger than themselves — began to develop tendencies toward *usurpation of authority*, and were likewise seized by wicked greed and mad desire for enrichment. Thus — a) because of this greed and vain desire for enrichment, they were induced to add, for their own purposes, further excessive tyrannies of labour, of tribute and of incidental injustice, b) because of their tendencies to usurp authority, they initiated here and there attempts — to shake military discipline — to suborn the militia — to incite rebellions and revolutions against superior rulers, in order to put themselves their places — to make agreements with rulers of neighbouring States, in order to open the ways of conquest of their own State to them, with the idea, naturally, of obtaining as recompense, together with a greater part in the new government, a greater opportunity to satisfy their greed for enrichment.

The ruled — coming to lack the sense and curb of altruism — a) if free and not ambitious to govern, began to buy a great many male and female slaves, to exercise cruelty towards them within the permitted oppressions and prostitutions, namely, to set them at hard labour, to prostitute them and to nourish them poorly, and this either in order to indemnify themselves for the heavy tributes they were obliged to pay, or else to appease their wicked greed and mad vanity for enrichment, which, under the bad example of rulers, were aroused also in them, and which among them, as inferiors, aroused

envy and jealousy of rank, b) if free and ambitious to govern, for egotistic ends, did not renounce greedy oppressions of labour nor prostitution, but began to make common cause with the sincere or false tribunes and with the ruled slaves, inciting them to react against oppressions, not by the comparatively constitutional means of claims, petitions, adverse propaganda and demonstrations, but by the more violent means of insult and harmful and injurious revenges, which at that time were excessively punished, or straightway by the most violent means of rebellion and revolution.

II. *Multiplication of inhabitants* — second cause of civic governmental corruption — a) happened naturally and was favoured by rulers interested in increasing the number of labouring and military slaves to be dominated and exploited, b) happened in Cities, Kingdoms and Empires while the restricted but continuing external sore of primitive civilisation obliged too great a part of labour to go into production of arms, c) happened while wicked greed and mad vanity for enrichment obsessed the rulers and free ruled, causing the two *spectres, luxury and misery, to appear*. Multiplication of inhabitants, therefore;

1) because of accumulation and scarcity, caused commodities to be neither abundant nor accessible and therefore dear;

2) induced the free and not rich ruled to incite their rulers to war against neighbouring States, in order to have a chance of appropriating the commodities and luxuries existing there, and in the meantime induced them to contend maliciously with one another for the few things they did possess;

3) consequently, produced in the free but not rich ruled an inclination toward *hatred of free fellow citizens and love of foreigners*, with whom war was not to be made — chiefly because the contests of wealth between free fellow citizens were more immediate and more direct than those with free foreign citizens, the more so, as

these could have neither personal nor governmental contests with them — secondarily because the greater disparity between themselves and foreigners and the fact of these being distant from them made their eventual pretensions to superiority and domination more explicable and admissible with less offence to self-love;

4) among slaves, whether fellow-citizens or foreigners, produced an inclination — a) to *reciprocal hatred*, as a result of penury in subsistence, b) to *reciprocal contempt*, as a result of the contempt with which they were treated by their own rulers and free ruled, c) to *reciprocal warlike aggression* when the rulers, for their own advantage, forced them to war.

III. *Compression of intellects* — third cause of governmental corruption — happened directly among the ruled and indirectly among the rulers, by the monopoly of schools and churches to which masters and priests yielded abjectly, causing suffocation of science and charlatanism in religion.

It manifested itself directly among the ruled, whether slaves or free, as an adroit means of tyranny. The slaves, because constrained to a life but little superior to that of beasts held in captivity for breeding — the free, because permitted certainly to work freely in medicine, crafts, art and commerce, but with tyrannical restrictions of thought, speech and action — remained mentally oppressed, hence unable to develop according to their spontaneous individual faculties, and consequently condemned to remain, *if not of inferior mental calibre, certainly obtuse*.

This circumstance occurred indirectly among rulers, as a reflection of their own tyranny. The monopoly of schools and

churches, through the cowardly and lucrative services of masters and priests, ceased to be beneficent and dimmed the primitive light of civilisation produced by the primitive purity of science and religion. Rulers were certainly *most free to think and to speak, but did so generally as superstitious and presumptuous ignoramuses*, the more so the higher their rank, as we shall see. And, as a consequence, they also remained deprived of the well being they might have enjoyed by greater progress in the activities of medicine and of crafts, which are closely dependent upon those of science and of religion.

In short, it came about by a variety of means that rulers and ruled remained;

1) *somewhat civilised* in crafts relating to dress, to warfare and to food, which for the moment were primitive but genuine and wholesome;

2) *more civilised* in the arts, these undergoing scientific suffocation and religious charlatanism, without losing their capacity to delight through beauty, and being easily suborned to the purpose of posterity, whether by monuments, statues or tablets, to the making of which artists, because of cowardliness or need, began to lend themselves, becoming, with the attractions of their art, base instruments of deceit and intellectual oppression at the service of despotic governments and at the orders of the most abject masters and priests;

3) *not at all civilised* in the « why » of things and in medicine — where everything is base without the light of free science — so that they were inclined to put themselves into the hands of wizards, of sibyls and of sorcerers for the cure of their moral and physical ills.

CHAPTER IV.

THE KINGS.

It is necessary, however, to note and always to remember that the corruption of government, and consequent malignant deepening of the internal sore, would not have come about as they did, if in the Cities surrounded by Boroughs, there had not appeared the figure of a *man baneful to civilisation and to humanity, the figure of a grim, rapacious, sanguinary and obscene man*.

Through deceit he had lately succeeded in suppressing him who was head of City government and had taken his place. Now he wanted more. Having laid aside every restraint, acting partly with deliberate malice, and giving himself superhuman airs, in order to preserve mysteriously for himself the place at the head of the government and to transmit it to his own sons by order of birth, but acting still more with great imbecility, that is to say, with blind faith in the foolish and interested suggestions of sorcerers, sibyls and magicians, to the point of believing that his successes in war and peace were the effects of divine will and grace, whereas they were only the effect of his supremely evil forces, and, after having been chief artificer of the direct and indirect suppression of free intelligence, he was fated to make a discovery of maliciously sovereign imbecility, which is here reconstructed.

In a day of drunken bacchanalia, while the most intoxicated encircled their own flushed heads with tendrils, he encircled his

head with a ring of metal, calling it *Crown*, and — with the cowardly and interested consent of the priests present — amidst a roar of applause from the rough mob, who had always liked his brutal overbearingness, proclaimed these commandments.

1) By will and grace of God, and therefore by divine right, I command that I from henceforth be called KING.

2) By will and grace of God, and therefore by divine right, I command that I be held irresponsible and inviolable Absolute Head, destined to rule the City and to transmit this Crown to my sons, as title whereby they may in future rule the City and have it ruled by their sons successively through eternity.

3) By will and grace of God, and therefore by divine right, I command that my laws, the rights and duties prescribed in them, the sentences of justice pronounced by me or in my name, shall be considered good, beautiful and true, hence sacred and immutable.

These were three commandments by which the most rascally and sacrilegious outrage was done to God; that of making him emissary of the present and future evils of government; that of causing him to be believed the irresponsible author of all the sins of government, which in his name, through the

course of centuries, might be committed by successive Kings and their accomplices, as his lieutenants.

These three commandments brought government to an extreme state of perversion — corrupting its chief fundamental principle, which requires really greater force in him who is its head and which is made a mockery by the fact that an heir, even if he lacks superior force of his own, can be King, that is, head of government; for this predestined heir may govern as a fool and so provoke the rebellious and revolutionary governmental ambitions of those who are really stronger and better fitted than he. These three commandments perverted the positive conception of right, which is arrogation or concession made by strong rulers; subverted the positive conception of justice, which is scrupulous application of the rights and duties determined in laws; undermined the positive conception of law, which is the expression of the will of strong rulers, and is good or bad according to their good or bad nature, and is changeable with their changing, but which, until repealed, must be applied if justice is to exist; disturbed the positive conception of equity, which has nothing to do with the conception of justice, since it refers to the altruistic goodness of those who may use it in making good laws or granting pardons; and thus in fact opened the way for all the famous philosophical, juridical and political maliciousness and imbecilities into which mankind has strayed.

These three commandments succeeded wonderfully in their sacrilegious intention of perverting the sources of government. Because the same grim and rapacious, sanguinary and obscene man, the King, took care to supplement them with *parades of force and domination*.

With the pretext that he had to represent magnificently the divinity of which he was vicar upon earth, in other words, with the purpose of making his forces of mind, body and wealth seem greater than they really were; for the purpose of reinforcing

his authority, of impressing the mob and of being supported by it as well as by the militia and the members of the noble and burgher classes — thus preserving his royal authority and putting his sons in a better condition to mask their own deficiencies and secure their hereditary rights — he began therefore to practise or to use:

1) pompous garments which, by their swelling and trailing, should enlarge his person;

2) a wild beast helmet, used in time of war, in contrast with the crown worn in time of peace, to give him the appearance of a wild beast's strength;

3) many arms, encircling his person, to clothe him with a great, menacing and deadly power;

4) ornaments of precious gems and shining metals, to give splendour and add value to his person;

5) a sceptre, that is, a bludgeon, held in his hand, to signify the miraculous divine power he could use against rebels;

6) many titles, prefixes and inflated majestic appellations to signify that though in appearance his person had the force and value of one body only, in reality it was equal to many bodies put together;

7) high palaces to confirm the idea that his person was so immense and his authority so high, that they could not be contained and would suffocate in an ordinary dwelling-house;

8) thrones to sit upon and coaches drawn by many horses for journeying, to suggest that his immense authoritative person could never be at the level of the governed, nor move by the vulgar effort of its feet, nor, because of its weight, be drawn by one or two beasts like any other person;

9) a large following of courtiers and servants, charged with the task of aggran-

dising and protecting his person, constrained to testify that it had many followers and devotees, all likewise powerful because also dressed in pompous garments or liveries, and furnished with arms, sticks and pendants;

10) inconceivably luxurious banquets, to signify that his stomach was so immense as to require the sustenance of a hundred persons and to suggest that his subjects could be happy in knowing that he ate so much more and so much better than they;

11) extension of his splendour and his honours to his favourite woman, as *Queen*, and to his sons and daughters, as *Princes and Princesses*, to prove that everything connected with him was powerful;

12) songs, portraits, statues, sepulchral and commemorative tablets to glorify his power and confirm that transmitted in the veins of his divine and legitimate successors.

These his parades of force and domination, could not be effected without immense riches sucked from the work of the mob, which, idiotic and incapable of understanding that it was itself the cheated furnisher of these displays, ran to admire them with fanatical curiosity and looked upon them as signs of divine grace fallen upon those who, at its own expense, luxuriated in such magnificence.

Thus the internal sore of the State and of civilisation, in becoming deeper and more malignant;

1) destroyed in Cities, Kingdoms and Empires, the almost paternal feelings of the Tribe governments which were patriarchal in the family and pastoral in the State: so that governments became tyrannical in the family and tyrannical in the State;

2) caused the inhabitants to be divided naturally into *three classes*, the class of *tyrants*, composed of rulers, the class of *slave drivers*, composed of freemen who had tyrannical family and trade rights, the class of

slaves, composed of those who were most subjected to tyranny and already formed a real mob, that is, a stupid, poor, vile, brutal, rascally mass, inclined to obey rather than to revolt;

3) became connected with the external sore of civilisation, which originated wars of patriotic defence or aggrandisement and favoured the occurrence of the latter.

Success in these wars of aggrandisement, moreover, enabled the baneful man, in further accesses of bacchanalian arrogance inspired by victory, to proclaim the commandments here reconstructed, enabled him, that is;

1) By will and grace of God, and therefore by divine right, to impose himself as Absolute King, that is to say, supreme, irresponsible and inviolable despotic authority, over the defeated and conquered territories, and to undertake to dictate laws to the conquered, namely, to create for them rights and duties of new justice, which should be held by all as good, beautiful and true, because just.

2) By will and grace of God, and therefore by divine right, to despoil of their lands those who, whether by greater force of mind, of body or of wealth or of all together, or by inheritance, had occupied and worked these lands or had had them worked, and had made themselves proprietors thereof, but who, of having fought as enemies and having been defeated, had become slaves to be sold to the highest bidder.

3) By will and grace of God, and therefore by divine right, to distribute these lands, with the wealth upon them and facilities for producing much more, in great part to himself and his sons, each one of whom, with the connected title of *Prince*, received the vassal privilege of divinely governing them in *Princedom*s and of wearing upon his head a metal circlet, or smaller crown, while he was permitted to extend his power to his own woman, as *Princess*, and to transmit his lands

and crown, with equal rights, to his own sons in order of birth. A smaller part of these lands went to those who, either as patriotic warriors had distinguished themselves by bravery or cunning violence and homicide, or as foreign traitors had deserved recognition by their bravery in favouring mutiny and insurrection. And upon these, and others who for similar prowess in past times were owners of lands, the King conferred, according to the size of the lands owned or obtained from him, the titles of *Duke, Marquis, Earl or Baron* with the vassal privileges of divinely governing them as *Duchies, Marquisates, Earldoms or Baronies*, of putting upon their own heads circlets of metal, namely, gradually inferior crownlets, of extending their power to their women as *Duchesses, Marchionesses, Countesses, Baronesses* and of transmitting their lands and crownlets to their own sons in order of birth. He further established that all these titled ones, who formerly were vulgarly held to constitute a class of tyrants, from the time of the creation of these titles henceforth should, since they derived their powers through him and were in some measure his *peers*, and therefore divine, be constituted a *noble class*, or a class of *aristocrats*.

4) By will and grace of God, and therefore by divine right, to free, that is to say, to permit to work freely in medicine, trades, arts and commerce, many of his slaves who had most distinguished themselves in working damage to the enemy. And to establish that they, with the former freemen, who used to be held vulgarly to constitute a class of slave-drivers, should from then on, because dedicated to works of masculine oppression and feminine prostitution, carried on chiefly in the ancient Boroughs, constitute a class of *Burghers* and have the privilege of calling themselves *Gentlemen* and of having their women called *Gentlewomen*, to distinguish them from all the other men and women who remained in the condition and class of servants more or less slaves.

5) By will and grace of God, and therefore by divine right, to extend the bound-

aries of his conquering City to the end of the boundaries of the conquered Cities, namely, to the end of their Boroughs, and thus cause the aggrandisement of his own City, which relatively to them, became Capital City, and together with them — now transformed into Princedoms, Duchies, Marquisates, Earldoms and Baronies — formed a Kingdom.

What is supremely important to note is that, through domination over City States and by the advent of Kingdom States, the barbarism of anarchical independence was reduced and the civilisation of the State of legal organisation was extended to more distant populations. In short, the varied and complex forces of men and women;

1) were more broadly submitted to the curb of legality and of its consequent justice;

2) could better be employed in vital and pleasant activities, superior to those needed for the urgent requirements of life, hence better employed in the scientific activities of crafts, art, medicine, family and religion;

3) caused humanity better to progress and to develop its brains.

But here, keeping in mind what was said in the preceding chapter about the corruption of despotic and tyrannical civic government — which was inevitable, because of the three causes, extension of boundaries, multiplication of inhabitants and compression of intellects, to which were added the doctrine of divine right and the parades of force and domination, one can perceive to what a great extent wicked greed and mad vanity for enrichment were bound to develop in the Capital City of the Kingdom, and in the Princedoms, Duchies, Marquisates, Earldoms and Baronies of the same. This corruption was an inevitable result of the competition in large and small parades of force and domination, to which the nobility gave themselves up in imitation of those initiated by the King and Queen. In the same manner they likewise initiated the display of gorgeous

vestments, helmets, arms, precious and shining ornaments, sceptres, titles and prefixes, such as « most excellent », « most illustrious » appellations, high palaces, thrones, coaches, courtiers and pompous servants, luxurious banquets, songs, portraits, statues, lavish sepulchral monuments and commemorative tablets.

And one can perceive how much greater had to be the inducements to make war and to stimulate it by lies and false accusations against neighbouring States in order to obtain openings for commerce, afford an outlet for the population, placate internal rivals by placing conquered peoples under their rule; thus leading from the evolution of Kingdoms to that of Empires and finally to the dream of Universal Empire.

May the stars of the Universe forgive the base spirit of the Emperor who first used that foolish two-word phrase!

For all these reasons, everything which pertained to government received a solemn impress of rascality. Conscription became slavish and hateful. Labouring and military work as well the tribute of free work became

oppressive and vexatious. And therefore, there was much that was rascally in calls to war for patriotic defence and greatness, much that was silly and brutish in the heroism with which the slave sons answered. Consequently, under the auspices of the man baneful to civilisation and humanity, under the auspices of the grim and rapacious, sanguinary and obscene King, the word Fatherland became corrupt.

We can imagine how beautiful the Fatherland would have become, how high civilisation would have elevated itself, how much better humanity would have been under the auspices of an entirely different man, a man strong in good rather than in evil, a Saint instead of a King. But imagination must make up accounts with reality. And the reality is that from original anarchy only a despotic government could be born, as only a provisional government can be born from revolution. The reality is that the original despotic government, continuing, could not but fall from its primitive, inexperienced and mild function, could not but deteriorate through despotism and tyranny, could not but open the way to the ruffianly figure of the King and to the rascally figure of the mob.

CHAPTER V.

GREATNESS AND DECADENCE OF EMPIRES, CIVILISATIONS AND RACES.

It was impossible that the barbarism of Empire independence, that is, the anarchical non-State of Empires, should cease as the barbarism of Kingdom independence had ceased, that is, by conquest and absorption of several States into one.

The process of absorbing many Kingdoms into a few Empires had been feasible, first of all because despotic and tyrannical domination is possible over an extension of boundaries just so large as not to render insubordinations, subornations and revolutions too easy and impossible of repression — for these become possible according to their distance from the centre of despotic and tyrannical government — and, further, because this process stimulated simultaneous rival lusts for domination in different Emperors and their followers. These, though fighting one another for wider imperial dominion, were aware that they continued to live in anarchical liberty and in the possibility of some day succeeding in what at present was impossible for them, so that they had no reason to make defensive alliances, but rather had reason to remain isolated, in order to carry on freely their own game of domination.

On the other hand, the absorption of several Empires into one single world-wide Empire was not feasible, first of all, because despotic and tyrannical dominion over an unlimited extent of territory becomes impos-

sible, for it is impossible to have at one's command enough faithful militia to repress the many easily aroused insubordinations and insurrections which, quieted on the right, break out on the left, subdued in front, re-appear in the rear; and occur mostly in the centre of the Empire, where there are the most impatient aspirants to government, and where there are no longer as many militia as formerly, these having been sent far afield on new conquests and having remained engaged there to repress the easily instigated insurrections. Moreover, each of the Emperors and his followers knew that imperial domination by one of them over all the others, if successful, meant permanent subjection of all the others to that one. So, while each Emperor, with his queue of followers, stubbornly and bombastically continued to strive for despotic imperial domination over all the others, in the foolish dream of Universal Empire, all these others, in the moment of danger, without hypocritically blaming the despotic menace of the threatening Emperor, which was like their own, made, for explicit motives of profit, defensive alliance against him. And because it is absurd that one should prevail against all, they caused the attempt at Universal Empire, periodically renewed in vain, ruinous and memorable wars, always to end in failure.

But the climax of the failure of Universal Empire lies in the mockery which attends it, a mockery coming from those who,

united in war against the foolish dream, caused its failure. Mockery too by the destiny of things. Because, exactly when an Empire is seized with a craving to become Universal Empire, exactly then, and as a consequence of this craving, does its decadence begin. It is then that from its centre irradiates that corrupt and yet mighty phenomenon: THE DECADENCE OF EMPIRES, CIVILISATIONS AND RACES which we shall now try to explain.

Under the third heading of the Positive Foundations of this Science of Government, we perceive that the mass of the governed obtains gradual mitigations of tyranny, because of its fluctuating character, certainly, but principally because of the struggle between rulers in power and rulers in aspiration. Such struggles oblige the aspirants to government, if victorious, to actualise, if only in small part, the promises of greater rights and fewer duties made to the mass of the ruled, which by its rebellions and revolutions assisted their victory; if defeated, to induce those who remain in government themselves to carry out for their own greater security these attenuations of tyranny, that is, to concede a part of those rights and to reduce a part of those duties which were promised by the aspirants to their places in government.

Keeping this in mind, and connecting it with the fact just now confirmed, that the insubordinations and insurrections of the aspirants to government become easier to foment and more difficult to repress in proportion as despotic government extends its boundaries, it is easy for us to understand what now follows.

As long as despotic and tyrannical government passes from civic to royal, from royal to imperial, it certainly extends its boundaries, but it remains within that sphere — limited though large enough — wherein insubordinations and insurrections are not too easy to instigate nor too difficult to repress. During such periods, aspirants to despotic government can certainly offer the

mass of the ruled certain incitements to revolution, but with little effect and many dangers. The promises of greater rights and fewer duties are used by them, but parsimoniously, because of the caution they must exercise so as not to expose themselves too much to the anger of the King Emperor. Their despotic revolutionarism is, briefly, rather an authoritative attitude than an exercise of rebellion, and therefore is reduced to startling but quite innocuous poses.

When, on the contrary, despotic and tyrannical government has become imperial, and undertakes to make annexations of other Kingdoms and Empires, for the dream of passing from Empire to Universal Empire; when the Empire thus extends its boundaries beyond its already large sphere, so that insubordinations and insurrections become very easy to foment and difficult to repress, then the circumstances are changed. Revolutionary doctrines are then used openly by the aspirants to government, with turbulent and loquacious poses, with exaggerated promises of greater rights and fewer duties that shall reduce the tyranny which weighs upon the ruled. And then, either through the endeavours of the victorious aspirants to government or through the repentant acts of rulers who have escaped downfall, mitigations of tyranny really begin. Among the culminating ones are these two.

1) *Some liberty of thought and speech is conceded.*

2) *The slavery of forced labouring work is abolished*, although not that of forced military work. Which is as to say that one of the two brutish marks that outraged the inferior governed is removed. But, because the Fatherland has established no system of patriotic, i. e., paternal work, but only a free exploitation of work, the inferior ruled are consequently reduced to a painful struggle for existence, that is, to a condition only a little less unhappy than before. Men voluntarily submit to any base and even badly compensated work, in order not in freedom to die of starvation. Women transform into

voluntary prostitution that which formerly was forced prostitution, and in the changes that occur all are not benefited.

But it is precisely these two culminating attenuations of tyranny which determine the decadence of Empire and make a mockery of the presumptuous idea of Universal Empire. And how can the decadence of Empire, civilisation and race be determined by two such mitigations of tyranny it may be asked?

In the way we shall now explain.

Human brains were not originally intended to remain obtuse. They were, on the contrary, formed to develop and perfect themselves progressively, like any other human organ. It was the task of tyrannical and despotic governments to repress them and arrest their development. But it could not also be their task to atrophy them forever.

The concession of some liberty of thought and speech obtained as a result of the more easily fomented and less repressible insurrections, produced some relaxation in the scholastic and ecclesiastic repression of intelligence. It was natural, however, that cerebral development, although retarded thousands of years, should again take its course, even though slowly. It was natural that the brains of the governed should begin to perceive new real facts, and have new ideas of positive science, contrasting with those of the old church and school teachings, such facts and ideas, indeed, as would make these teachings appear deceits or gross errors. It was natural that the governed should feel the need of expressing such new ideas in relation to the ugly facts of their despotic and still tyrannical government. And it was natural that the decadence of imperial government should thus be determined.

For, religious credulity, which was the cornerstone of slavish morality and slavish military discipline, once shaken; the slavish

service of labouring work, moreover, abolished, and the fury of individual struggles for existence restrained only by the arbitrariness of despotic government, it was unfortunately inevitable that the four following putrefactions should take place:

1. Satirical scoffing on the part of the more intellectual mass, at the spirituality and worship of the old obscurantist religion, and, as a reflex consequence, almost general religious scepticism.

2. Unchaining of all individual egotisms, which being no longer obtuse and religious, but intellectual and irreligious, cause everybody to be astute and diffident, lying and insidious, shrewdly struggling for existence, disloyally competitive; tardy in fulfilling promises, petulant and fraudulent in commercial affairs; arrogant and cowardly. As a consequence there follows cavilling in endless judicial disputes, which produces flocks of pettifogging and nibbling lawyers, general wrangling to become State clerks, namely, bureaucrats, with fixed salary secured by a pension and rounded out by occasional graft; ambitious strivings on the part of all to be head and none follower, so that all might pass to posterity with statues, portraits and tablets ordered for mediocre governors by mediocre governors interested in having the same ordered for them. As a further consequence of the unchaining of egotisms, we find men obstinately conserving prejudices while intellectually depraved by such prejudices; pretending to be altruistic while they are really miserly; pretending to be heirs of great ancestors while behaving like poor wretches; pretending to be great while daring only to gesticulate; powerless for great hatred as for great love; reciprocally despising one another; ironic, slanderous and discordant; unable to conduct any collective enterprise that is not frivolous, or does not give a speedy return, that requires in fact trustworthiness, harmony, loans, courage and firmness — briefly, to develop in themselves all these unhappy evils of decadence, by which men and women become as so many little tubes of malice. Little tubes of malice

that walk, cheat, turn about, ensnare, deceive and corrupt, in streets, in houses, in offices, in commerce, in science, in religion, in art, in love, in speaking, even in bowing. Little tubes of malice that meet, obstruct, annihilate one another, and finally produce general paralysis of wills. Little tubes of malice with which, it is better, if possible, to have no dealings or at any rate only distant ones.

3. Third among the putrefactions caused by the slackening of religious credulity and the fury of individual struggles for existence, is the appearance of *camorra* and *brigandage*. That is to say, the presence of small despotic States in the large despotic State, brought into existence through men of the people who are conscious of having forces equal and even superior to those of the rulers, but are angered by the consciousness that they cannot rise to government, as they could electorally were the government representative, since the high degrees of the royal and imperial government under which they live belong to the nobility, and they themselves lack the requisite education and relationships to aspire thereto. Or else they are irritated by some despotic injustice inflicted upon themselves by some ruler.

These conscious, angered and irritated men, secretly, so as to escape governmental repression, and with the same arbitrary process of multiple domination which we know is used in the formation of despotic governments — a) attach other men to their cause, lesser men, also angered or irritated and ready to act as accomplices or assistants, b) impose upon their fellow subjects, in a way similar to that practised by the rulers, so as to dominate over and have tribute from these fellow subjects and thus live better, according to their certainly not altruistic nor beneficent wills, c) accompany such impositions by threats of death penalties in case they are not fulfilled and by promises of protection against governmental or private attacks in case they are fulfilled, d) in the meantime organise themselves secretly, if in cities as little *camorra* States, if in the country as

brigand States, e) for the sake of becoming more like the nobles who govern the State, of better dominating and also satisfying the wicked greed and mad vanity for enrichment which they likewise feel, give themselves over to externalities and poses like those of the governing nobles: so that, they begin to make big and little parades of force, with pompous vestments, wild beast turbans, armed belts, precious and shining ornaments, sceptres, titles and prefixes, wonderful horses, luxurious banquets, benefactions and the extension of such grandeur to their women.

Such further secret pilfering could certainly not be pleasing to the subjects of the royal Empire, already subjected to government impositions. Therefore, turning to the rulers, they begged them to put an end to it. And the government, a little because of jealousy at the competition for governmental domination made by the camorristas and brigands, and a little in order to ingratiate themselves with their subjects and mask their own tyrannies and have it believed that they were in government solely because of their zeal to protect the people, in addition to subjecting the camorristas and brigands to heavy penalties, began to defame their two organisations, or two little States, by creating the two disdainful appellations of *camorra* and *brigands*. And the poor ignorant subjects, with horror and disdain, adopted and repeated them, as if the two organisations had not an accusing similarity with the organisation of the royal government, as if they were in fact something quite different. And the brigands and camorristas could not but accept the two appellations, now come into common use; but they used them with pride and in a tone of defiance to make them seem dignified; and every time their honourable society was mentioned, they raised their hats; and for the protection of their doings they asked God's help, just as the rulers did — so clearly did they see and so convinced were they that there was but a difference of proportion between their organisation and that of Kingdoms, Princedoms, Duchies, Marquisates, Earldoms and Baronies.

But science, which protects truth, had one day to open the way and to allow it, in spite of words, to establish the reality also with regard to this subject. This Positive Science of Government explains here today what is camorra and what is brigandage. But physical and chemical science had already given inductive explanations on the subject. Permitting the photographic reproduction of the most celebrated brigands and camorristas, they had shown all the correspondence of facial lineaments between these and the older rulers, whether Kings, Princes, Dukes, Marquises, Earls, Barons or Noblemen, not far distant from the head of the line. These photographic reproductions had already led to the perception that the grim and rapacious, sanguinary and obscene man, the King, the more originary he is, that is, the less hereditary, has an organic conformation similar to that of a head brigand only very much superior, which organic conformation enables him to be a head brigand on a large scale, that is, a King.

4. The fourth putrefaction is obvious treachery of the inferior rulers, simultaneous with the general predomination of the personal interests of each one over any interests of patriotic defence or greatness. Thus, those who once lent themselves to the Fatherland as trusting, disciplined, obedient, untiring, courageous and heroic martyrs and victors, now lend themselves to the Fatherland as untrustworthy, undisciplined, disobedient, lazy cowards, deserters to the enemy and traitors. So that the Fatherland, and through it the Empire, rapidly becomes corrupt, falls apart and decays.

To repair such ruin, and to placate individual lusts and jealousies, the superior rulers, who are the chief exponents of such jealousies;

1) rise against the Emperor, pretending to hold him sole maleficent cause, and by a revolutionary movement, called if it succeeds and becomes an accomplished fact, Coup d'Etat, transform the Imperial Monarchy into *Imperial Republic*, that is, they

cause the supreme authority of the Empire to be no longer hereditary and single but elective and plural, hence entrusted to three or to five or even more of themselves;

2) give the burghers a certain empirical and effective *senatorial* participation in government, as recognition of the great power to which they have risen, through the force of their property in land. For the nobles, on account of the hereditary character of their successions, became an inept class, and, owing to their desire for luxury, had recourse to the money of the burghers, selling to them first one and now another part of their lands, thus dividing the proprietorship of the Earth. The burghers, for their part, were anxious enough to acquire the land in order better to equal the nobles in wealth and parades of force, that is, to rival them not only in the possession of money but also in that of land, and it was very natural that they should sit with them in the Senate, i. e., in a corporation of supreme legislative and judiciary counsel;

3) give the ex-slaves, i. e., the mass of the free exploited, another empirical and this time but slightly effective participation in government, which consisted only in the right of meeting and voting, and proclaiming that they could henceforth constitute the class of the people, who, unfortunate creatures, gripped by the famished struggle for existence and saturated to the marrow with the obscurantism of all past despotisms, do not know how to be more than they are; so that they become in appearance, in their speeches and at their meetings, a new class of people, while actually in the facts of life they remain the old mob class.

Nevertheless, because of these measures, a certain betterment takes place in the internal conditions of government. But the improvement is ephemeral, because of the ever fiercer despotic lusts and jealousies of the supreme rulers themselves and because of the malicious despotic conspiracies wherein the old Emperor, or his heir, have never ceased to engage since the deposition.

Thus the following is not long in developing. With the favour of the people — always the unchangeable mob — that has perceived of what the Imperial Republic really consists and has had enough of its exploitation of work, and forgets or is ignorant of what Imperial Monarchy consists and hopes to be better off in it, as the agents of the latter insinuate — *with the favour therefore of the mob*, the old Emperor, or his heir for him, by a counter-revolutionary movement and a counter *Coup d'Etat* reimposes himself despotically as absolute hereditary Emperor, reserving, with shrewd opportunism, to the burgher class and to the popular class, many of the rights already conceded to them by the Imperial Republic. But the change in governmental form does not succeed in bettering its essence, which is extremely sore. So that, after a few days of illusory and raving monarchical enthusiasm, the process of corrupt imperial decadence continues.

The external State sore, i. e., the barbarism of anarchy and the necessity for imperial wars of conquest abroad, although diminished still persists. The internal State sore, i. e., the arbitrariness of despotism and the necessity of tyrannies in the interior of the Empire, persists in a more irritated form because of the four putrefactions just noted, namely, greater satirical scoffing and irreligious scepticism, greater unchaining of individual egotisms, more obvious treachery by inferior rulers and more extended predomination of the personal interest over any interest of patriotic defence or greatness.

Therefore, that which now follows could not but happen. One or another independent Kingdom, or even Princedom, forming part of the same decadent Empire or of another newer Empire, because composed of people less irreligiously sceptical, less maliciously egotistical, more despotically barbarous, and at the same time eager for wars for imperial patriotic greatness;

1) shatters the connection of the old Empire;

2) absorbs now one now another of its most corrupt and decaying parts — thereby itself taking the path towards imperial ascension, rendering the defeated more or less slaves, despoiling them more or less of their lands and with these enriching new Princes, Dukes, Marquises, Earls, Barons and Gentlemen, (seized in turn with new natural wicked greed and mad vanity for enrichment and parades) producing new spectres of luxury and misery, repressing intellects with new religious charlatanry, with new restrictions of thought and speech, entrusted to the malice of new masters, priests and artists;

3) mixes its more barbarous and healthier germs with those more civilised and more infected found there, and, dissolving the old unity of race, language, morals and civilisation, creates over it a *new and varied imperial unity of race, language, morals and civilisation of its own*.

Nor can this new Empire, because of its inherent sores of anarchy abroad and despotism in the interior, escape in turn, when it has reached the limits of its boundaries, that same destiny of decadence. A destiny stayed by some new liberty of thought and speech, by new abolition of slavery, by new Coups d'Etat between a new Imperial Republic and a new return of the Imperial Monarchy; but stayed only for a brief time. Because, at its fated hour, the destiny of the new imperial decadence must be accomplished and is accomplished.

Thus the phenomenon of the decadence of Empires, civilisations and races repeats itself, rottenly and monotonously, differing only in name and date.

And yet, the cause which produces the decadence of Empires, is the same which produces their greatness. And in saying this there is no shadow of paradox. The two phenomena of greatness and decadence are products of the same immanent and connected sores of the primitive State. The external sore, i. e., the barbarism of anarchy abroad, constraining to warlike conquests and

extensions of boundaries, produces the territorial greatness of the Empire, which consolidates into greatness of civilisation and of race in consequence of the simultaneous internal sore. The internal sore, provoking ulterior warlike conquests and extensions of boundaries, and producing a relaxation of the thought and slavery tyrannies, is responsible for the monstrous aggrandisement of the State, followed by the decadence of civilisations and of race, which becomes concrete in decadence of Empires.

Consequently, there is nothing miraculous in the phenomenon of the greatness of Empires, as there is nothing mysterious in their decadence.

And we have a confirmation of this diseased connection in the correlation of the particular phenomena of rottenness which accompany greatness as well as decadence.

In the rise of Empires to greatness, we find the deceitful religious scepticism of the few priests and the ingenuous credulity of the many faithful; the overbearing domination of the few governors and the respectful submission of the many governed; the astute greed and idleness of the few, and the patient service and inexhaustible activity of the many; a widespread recklessness in entering on wars of conquest; luxurious display by a few and resigned parsimony of the many. There are produced colossal and solid works of artistic beauty, for the vain glory of the few who order them from the many humbly sweating to erect them. On the one hand there is malice, on the other good faith; on the one hand olympic calm of the dominating classes, the noble and the burgher, towards novelty and towards the young: on the other interest in every new current of ideas coming from abroad, and a protective sympathy which assimilates the stranger who brings them.

In decadence, there is a universal irreligious scepticism, unsubordinated arrogance and undisciplined carelessness or apathy; greed counterbalanced by idleness, reluc-

tance in undertaking military service whether in wars of conquest or defence, and satisfaction in escaping such service or in being made prisoner; a desire to live in the midst of ease and superfluities. There are hasty and trivial works of artificial art, due to the wealthy greed of the few who commission them ignorantly and of the many who fashion them carelessly and quickly. Everybody is dishonest, so that a word given is not to be accepted and agreements and trade are full of deceit. Malice is found on all sides — as a result of which every man one meets is that « little tube of malice » with whom it is more profitable to have no relations or distant ones, while the State itself reaches general progressive paralysis.

In this condition we find first the stage of hypersensibility, then the insensibility of the two dominating classes, the noble and the burgher, towards novelty and every new current of ideas coming from abroad and against the young.

1. Hypersensibility. This is produced in the first stage of decadence by excessive attachment to the patrimony of ideas that brought the two ruling classes to the civilised predominance from which they feel they are about to fall. This hypersensibility therefore induces them to institute the custom house of thought and to develop *chauvinism*, which properly belongs to States in incipient decadence, and can be defined as an alternative passing from the discord of national self-belittlement to the concord of national self-extolling in order to depreciate the stranger, even though he may be the bringer of new and really great ideas and have reached such a degree of human sensibility as to feel as strong a love for the Fatherland of his adoption as for the Fatherland which he leaves behind.

Hypersensibility thus induces the two dominating classes to blunt and crystallise popular thought, to crystallise even their own language, which becomes full of silly phrases, to render difficult the way of the young and the would be innovators, that is,

to fill every office with the old, who by nature are conservative.

2. Insensibility, in the second stage of decadence is produced by an apathetic and mechanical attachment to the patrimony of ideas that certainly served to bring the two ruling classes to civilised predominance, but did not serve to save them from the abject decadence into which they sank.

Insensibility, therefore, which induces these two classes — to neglect and destroy what in their past was truly great, to become despondent in their inertia, to persuade themselves and their people that new thought germinates only abroad, and cannot be initiated by them, so great is their decadent incapacity; to prostrate themselves with vile obsequiousness before strangers who, whether truly or falsely pose as innovators; to produce, in fact, mocking self-depreciation and vile exaltation of all foreigners.

The connection between the two phenomena of greatness and decadence of Empires is, moreover, confirmed by the process of recovery. In recovery also one process corresponds with and is dependent upon the other. In fact, to avoid the abject destiny of decadence of Empires, civilisations and races, there is but one true way, that of not allowing and thereby avoiding the arrogant need of their greatness.

The full and radical cure of the two diseases presupposes, in short, the full and radical cure of the two sores of the primitive State — that of the barbarism of anarchy abroad and that of the arbitrariness of despotism in the interior.

National Constitutions, of which we shall soon speak, cause in the beginning a partial cure of the internal State sore, that of despotism, and produce not the greatest but a very great civilised progress. But a complete restoration to political sanity can only come about through the complete and radical cure of both State sores;

i) for recovery from the external State sore implies — suppression of the barbarism of anarchy and the introduction of civilised restraints abroad; suppression of the necessity of warlike conquests for territorial aggrandisement; the taking of measures against the slackening of familiar and patriotic ties between rulers and ruled; eradicating the need of internal tyrannies and foreign discords;

2) for recovery from the internal State sore implies — suppression of the arbitrariness of despotism in the interior and a tendency to suppress it parliamentarily also abroad; suppression of the necessity of tyrannies in the interior and a tendency to suppress them representatively also abroad; suppression of the irreligious, sceptical, untrustworthy, deceptive, treacherous conflict of greedy individual interests in the interior and consequently also abroad; introduction of social and really patriotic ties within the States, and a tendency to create human and really civilised ones between State and State.

If no cure of these two sores takes place in the State, diseased greatness and decadence inexorably end in death. In fact, of many Empires that once existed, and of their respective civilisations and races, no trace remains. And it is well that this should be. The survival of an Empire which has reached the extreme of decadence and has become a centre of malice and moral infection would be a more destructive fact for the human species than its mortal decay. It is the conquest of such an Empire, the dismemberment of its territory, the destruction of its corrupt civilisation, and the subjection and denationalisation of its race that, for the want of a better one, reveals itself as the remedy. These evils are, briefly, so many natural remedies for the unhealthy condition of things. Effected unconsciously by the conquering State, in the course of its imperial development, monstrous yet inevitable in present conditions, and pregnant with virtues germinating from the good faith of the many destined to accomplish the work of

punishment, these natural remedies cauterise and deaden a gangrenous part of the human species, and in the meantime, although only temporarily, save the adjacent parts. An apparent evil therefore reveals itself as a benefit for humanity. And this evil, which yet acts beneficently, can be the only remedy for decadence as long as the institution of an International Assembly is lacking, wherein, without need of massacring vandalisms and conquests, the inferior Nations can be legally dominated by the superior.

Of this phenomenon of decadence of Empires, civilisations and races, of this corrupt and yet mighty phenomenon, we now know enough. And therefore only as complement shall we speak of these last three facts concerning it.

The first of these facts, which in interest supersedes the other two, consists in the rise of a new religious idealism from the midst of the cynical corruption of every imperial decadence. Out of evil comes good. Malignant putrefaction of life in the interior cannot be the environment adapted to all organisms. As a consequence, an organism here, another organism there, possessed of a more human structure and sensibility to beauty, intelligence and compassion than the most, reacts against the environment which is intolerable to it. Such organisms individually and collectively perceive that religious deceit and error are the very first causes of the Fatherland's decadence. Therefore, with a boldness hypnotic and inspired and with fervid altruistic passion, they attempt either to redeem the purity of the old faith, or to re-group the new positive facts of science and to dispose them as a scientific basis for the old spiritual faith.

But the malice of the governors who rule the Empire, lies in wait for this new miracle of faith in order to utilise it. In fact, when it finds the opportune moment, the Empire enlists new masters, priests and artists for the sacred task, of adapting the precepts of the redeemed or new religion to the egotisms

of the governing and of the exploiting classes, of perverting its meaning by school teachings, by church worship; briefly, of making it serve the latest exigencies of despotic and tyrannical imperial government even better than the old religious precepts. There follow, consequently, new restrictions of thought and of speech, for the purpose of preventing the new precepts from being understood otherwise than as pleases the government. And the deception serves for a time. But when the Empire has extended its boundaries beyond even that large sphere in which insubordinations and insurrections are easy to foment and repressed with difficulty, when the Empire is constrained to concede new and greater liberty of thought and of speech, then new real facts are perceived by the governed, new ideas of positive science appear to them in contrast with the teachings of the churches, of the schools and of the arts, and a new imperial decadence is determined. And then, from the midst of this ferment and as a result of it, appears a new religious idealism. A new prophet reveals a better spiritual faith, redeemed or based upon the science of the time, which is greater than the previous one. He arouses new apostles and new believers, and purifies and elevates the people to a severer life. A new miracle of religious renascence occurs, which new imperial authorities utilise with new deceits of masters, priests and artists. But they cannot wholly suppress the new germs of scientific and spiritual truth which the new religious renascence contains. Nor can they prevent humanity from slowly advancing in its civilised progress, while the phenomenon of the decadence of Empires and civilisations evilly and monotonously repeats itself.

The second of the last facts to be known relates to the intensity of the decadence of Empires, civilisations and races. Given that this decadence is the diseased consequence of the two sores of the primitive State, and breaks out exactly when relaxation from the tyrannies of thought and slavery is producing a progressively educative and illuminative effect on people and

a progressive development of mistrust of the despotism which endures and rots the Fatherland, it is evident that decadence can but be greater and more rapid where, from ethnical causes, men have more vivacious vital movements and mentality. So that, generally, decadence of Empire, civilisation and race occurs more rapidly in southern States, where the ascent to greatness has also been more rapid.

The third and final fact to be known is related to the succession of decadences of Empires, civilisations and races. It being admissible that the migratory succession of men and States upon earth occurred from east to west, because of the attractive fascination which the sun could not but exert upon successive men, owing to their desire to follow it at sunset where it vanished carrying with it its mysterious, luminous, warm and beneficent power — admitting this, therefore, it is permissible to hold that the succession of decaying Empires, civilisations and races may have followed the succession of their greatness and have occurred from east to west. Where greatness of Empire, of civilisation and of race was first reached, there also everybody's mistrust and moral putrefaction, and the decadence of Empire,

of civilisation and of race had to be first reached. Thus, making, for once, an exception to the prohibition we set ourselves against too specific instances in order not to leave the field of pure scientific research, we can hold that the succession in the imperial magnificence of greatness and in the imperial abjection of decadence — within modern times, necessarily democratic, for the misunderstanding of which fact Germany has lost her turn — was and will be from China to India, from India to Babylonia, from Babylonia to Egypt, from Egypt to Greece, from Greece to Italy, from Italy to France, from France to England, from England to America.

To America destiny reserves the magnificence of pointing out the new future greatness, certainly not of Empire but of civilisation and of race. To America then destiny also reserves, with the grace of escaping the abjection of decadence, itself a natural consequence of the magnificence of greatness, the grace of showing humanity how to escape it forever, how to cure itself radically and fully of the two State sores, how to prevent the earth, before its death, becoming from pole to pole, one sewer of fallen peoples.

CHAPTER VI.

THE GREATEST OF EMPIRICAL FACTS: OLD NATIONAL CONSTITUTIONS.

Imperial decadence, as we have seen, was coincident with scientific discoveries, progressive religious renaissances and progressive ascendancy of the burgher class, which used the implicit financial and moral ruin of the noble class to step over it to importance. The burgher class, in fact, while still suffering from the fever of emulating the noble class by means of the pecuniary wealth resulting from its exploitation, was overtaken by another fever, that of making such wealth more secure, through converting the larger part of it into landed property and of thus surpassing the other landed class which, by right of warlike conquest, had originally appropriated and divided it among themselves. The burghers, therefore, went on feverishly buying a piece of land here, another piece there, according as luxury or the need of money induced now one and now another noble to sell.

But the burghers suffered from this fever not only because of their longing to amass wealth and give it greater stability. They experienced this desire also because of their longing to conquer that governmental domination which still remained concentrated in the hands of the King Emperor much more than in those of the adherent noble class, now reduced to a slight senatorial authority. The burghers were filled with this passion for money and lands because of their longing to acquire legal domination, i. e., the faculty of imposing laws, and because

they wished to complete and ensure their domination on the sexual, family, professional, commercial, artistic and social fields and to live more according to their own will.

The share of governmental domination conferred by the Imperial Republic upon the burgher class had, in truth, almost vanished at the restoration of Imperial Monarchy. But despotic arrogance became too unseemly in the decadent Imperial Kingdom, because of the acts of the new King Emperor who would strike with false accusations of conspiracy against his Imperial Majesty now one, now another, of the richest nobles or burghers, in order to confiscate their riches. And such excessive overbearingness constituted the best pretext the burgher class could wish for to reawaken its own longings for authoritative governmental domination.

The insurrectionary union, which occurred between nobles, burghers and the people against royal despotism, in fact, promised to be a very severe blow to the latter. But, because of the obstacles created by three causes of which we shall now speak, the blow failed to produce its promised effect.

Firstly, because the grim and rapacious, sanguinary and obscene man — not yet struck down — caused despotism to be still strongly rooted, not only at Court, but in the usages of government and even in the inti-

mate sentiment of many in those very classes of nobles, burghers and populace who thought themselves his proud enemies.

Secondly, because the scientific progress of the time, and the consequent religious progress, were not such as to enlighten the minds of the nobles, the burghers and the populace to the extent necessary for the conception of a Positive Science of Government and a Positive conception of Internationalism such as is here outlined. Indeed, religious progress was such as to dazzle rather than to illumine the conscience, and in the proud struggle being waged against despotic privileges, it lent itself to deforming the divine conception of the time into these puritanical and exalted affirmations — *that all men are equal before God, therefore all equal among themselves, and created to live as free and equal brothers*. Three heresies these against the universal law which desires the greatest possible variety of forms and of values, and which, desiring this as the aim of life, also demands that, according to their organic progress in altruistic sensibility, men;

1) shall all have an *equal legal right* to develop their individual forces in the freest and most varied way;

2) shall all have *fraternal equity of intercourse*, in the sense that the strongest and superior shall equitably and fraternally recognise the right of the weaker and inferior to choose their work, which, done in the time of their youth and maturity, can assure them the necessities for a healthy life, free from the abjection of misery and charity, with opportunity to develop their forces;

3) shall all, in short, have these liberties and rights *guaranteed* in Communal Councils, in National Assemblies, in the INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY, by representatives of the *humanistic* or liberal elements which shall dominate the brutish.

Because, finally, the altruistic sensibility of the nobles, burghers and populace — being in a retarded state of development — was in-

capable of producing in them those genial intuitions which often supply deficiencies in scientific and religious light, those curbs of egotistic privileges and those impulses of equitable abnegation which would have been necessary for such an undertaking as the radical overthrow of despotic tyranny.

For these three reasons, *despotism could not then be radically attacked and was protected from the death blow we are now trying to give it*.

A representation of the three classes in conjunction did come into existence, at the incitement of the burgher class anxious to rise, and several times it tried to lay its antidespotic proposals before the overbearing King Emperor.

After petitions and prayers had been tried and met with furious anger or royal revenge against the nobles, burghers and populace who presented them — finally, by the force of a great popular uprising, a representation from the three classes was received. This body demanded that affairs of State should be first discussed in a Parliamentary Assembly, consisting of elected representatives of the three classes together, and should then be decided by the King as he thought best. Since it was always he who sovereignly decided, the King did them the grace of consenting and promised to consider the question of ordering elections and of convoking a Parliament at such times as he thought it advisable to hear his subjects' opinion on affairs of State. And, as a consequence of simultaneous insurrections of populace and military, by *royal concession and at the royal discretion*, there arose the PARLIAMENT, or rather a Parliamentary Assembly, composed: a) of nobles, by right of birth and hereditary succession, b) of burghers, by electoral right, that is, elected by their votes and those of a small number of the superior populace, to whom His Majesty, in his clemency, conceded the right to vote.

But it was not long before new causes of dispute arose. The burgher class, having

become intolerant of the superiority of the nobles, sought to contend for governmental domination through discussions and decisions in Parliament. Seizing therefore on some pretext for dissension, it produced a parliamentary class scission, as a result of which — the burghers formed the *House of Commons*, that is, deputies not of the noble class but commoners, together with those of the popular class by whom they had been elected. The nobles remained and constituted the *House of Lords*, that is, senators, like the King of noble class, and with hereditary right to govern.

And the King Emperor gained by the schism, profiting by the jealousies of Lords and Commoners to reconquer his absolute powers little by little. Convoking at long intervals first one now the other House, and utilising their discordant decisions, he could the better do as he pleased. He even reached the point of making light of both houses and of regaining his old arrogance. But in so acting he produced not indeed a parliamentary fusion of both Houses, but a cordial understanding between the two against him.

The two Houses — joining against the King-Emperor, with the support of many troops, faithful to a general who, with puritan and magnetic religious spirit, had risen against royal arrogance — divided now the task of high justice, inasmuch as the House of Commons accused, and the House of Lords condemned the King-Emperor as guilty of high treason. In the resulting process which, with all its formulae, was an advance beyond the revolutionary rising, several Kings and several of their minister accomplices were sent one after another to the scaffold. In doing all this, the two Houses prepared the great event of the *Fundamental Law* of the NATIONAL CONSTITUTION, in such a way as it was then possible for it to occur. They prepared the *advent of representative government*, in an empirical instead of a scientific way, but nevertheless in a way which to some extent substituted the old despotism by a partially organised parliamentary electoral struggle, by means of which

the State forces of mind, of body and of wealth could develop, certainly not adequately, yet in a way that produced the greatest civil progress in the history of past governmental existence.

The fundamental law of the old NATIONAL CONSTITUTION — thus resulting not in its most desirable form, but as it could — was written upon a *Magna Charta*, and was imposed upon the new King Emperor, who, taught by the unenviable end of his late predecessors, stooped to listen to it with a great deal of interest and a great disposition to approve it. *The Statutes of this opportunistic CONSTITUTION*, *ambiguous* as they could but be in the midst of bloody revolutionary tumults — were in condensed form these: —

I

The *House of Commons*, that is, the elective House, resulting from the vote of the burghers and of a few of the populace, became *predominant* in comparison with the House of Lords. It became so because of the exclusive faculty it reserved to itself of raising taxes, or rather of forming the State Exchequer, without which it is impossible to govern. Thus was satisfied the burghers' desire for governmental domination.

II

No act of government could be made by the King Emperor without the signature of a *responsible Minister*, appointed by the House of Commons and approved by the House of Lords. So that the King Emperor was compared to one who is irresponsible.

III

Arrests and sentences of Peers could only be made by the House of Lords. Arrests of members of the Commons had to be authorised by the House of Commons. Arrests among the populace had to be confirm

ed, and sentences, whether of Commons or of populace, had to be proffered by juries, that is, by sworn burghers or members of the populace who were more or less unenlightened and incompetent but preferable to the royal and arbitrary policemen of the past and of the possible future.

IV

Liberty of thought, of speech and of the press had to be inviolable. And inviolable had also to be freedom to meet and to associate.

V

The components of the State formed, in the ensemble of their three classes, a NATIONAL KINGDOM.

VI

As a quick and vile opportunistic transaction, the King Emperor's entreaty that *appearances should be saved* was granted, that is, that his authority should apparently be undiminished, that his divine right, his hereditary succession and his power to reign should be preserved. Thus it was made to seem that the NATIONAL CONSTITUTION, that is, the renunciation of his supreme authority, which had been forced upon him, was really spontaneously offered by him to aid the advance of new civilisation and the aspirations of his beloved burghers and of his beloved populace. The imposed adjustment of the NATIONAL CONSTITUTION was called *tempered Monarchy or Constitutional Monarchy* — and there were used in the text of the Constitution, obsequious phrases towards royal power — while the King was left the faculty of making Princes, Dukes, Marquises, Earls and Barons *at haphazard*, that is, without lands, and the faculty also of favouring the desires of the burghers who might wish to extend these to the point of buying, not only pieces of land, but also annexed noble titles, and to become *notary* Princes, Dukes, Marquises, Earls, Barons. There was also assigned to the King, a showy *Civil List* (this was the most important) which was the equi-

valent of the money that he could henceforward take by contributions imposed upon subjects without giving account to anyone. This permitted him, together with his intimates, to continue the earlier magnificence of his life, and from time to time to donate a sum of money to the people, in order to seem as if he still gave liberally of his own, while in fact, he but returned to them what was theirs. His face was still left impressed upon the coins, so that the blessedness of money might still seem to derive from him. To him was reserved the faculty of bestowing *decorations* of his own accord, besides those he was obliged by the ministers to give for electoral ends. Moreover, the coat of arms of his house, i. e., the old sign of his reign, remained in the centre of the *national flag*.

VII

By force of circumstances, that is, because of the impossibility for the Commons, or burghers, to come into such relations as to impose themselves upon the Kings and Emperors of other States, the *King remained head of the Army*; and to him was reserved *the right to declare war and to make peace*, of course, with the limitations derived from the fact of having to obtain from the Commons the financial means, without which it is possible to make peace but not war.

Thus tyrannical despotism was not radically suppressed, it was not scientifically abolished, it was only empirically weakened and tempered — the more emphatically because of these pretences of royal power which it was necessary by mendacious and silly ways of speech to keep up, and which made *Public Law, that is, Constitutional Law, a tangled mess of lies and foolishness*.

Thus *representative government* arose, not properly as a government of controlled forces, as against arbitrary despotic government, but as a *hybrid* betterment of it, in many points actually inferior to it.

Thus old *National Constitutions* were adopted by almost all States, with a frenzy of

imitation and a variety of lies and foolishness, sometimes worse, sometimes better. They were thus feverishly adopted because, in spite of their empiricism and their tangled mess of lies and foolishness, they everywhere appeased the desires for governmental domination of the burgher classes and were in reality an event of great civil potentiality. And because they were adopted with this frenzy of imitation, they were always planned on the *Two Chamber system*, even where no House of Lords had been created. That is, with stupid reasons for pondered legislative reflection, adopted by the interested, there was created, beside the elective and effective *Chamber of Deputies*, an academical and encumbering *Senate* elected for life, which in substance afforded a very convenient domination for those who were wealthy.

Thus — while the external State sore, that is, the barbarism of national independence and the necessity of foreign wars, by fatality of circumstances still persisted — the internal State sore, that is, the arbitrariness of despotism and the necessity of tyrannies in the interior, through baneful royal influence, was not healed, but only reduced by virtue of the empirical ointment it had received. Yet, though the poison of royal despotism rendered the sore extremely malignant, the mere fact of its being assuaged, produced great benefits in government and civilisation, which had never before been possible, and which, even though mixed with many evils — due to which a truly Chaotic Period was entered upon, as we shall now see — gave to humanity a sense of happy beatitude, in contrast with the memory of the horrors of the past.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CHAOTIC PERIOD.

The grim, rapacious, sanguinary and obscene man, the King, acted with self-preserving circumspection when he urged that National Constitutions should leave to royal power the appearance at least of its ancient authority. He knew that if this appearance only were once admitted, it would then be his affair, profiting by events, to turn it once more into reality.

It can be affirmed without a shadow of doubt that the day this request was made, and granted by the burgher class, was announced also the *beginning of the Chaotic Period*, of which we shall now trace the broad outline. At a distance of centuries this Chaotic Period has intimated *its end* in the blood of the most horrible of all wars, namely in the blood of the present war.

From the day of that fatal concession, began the chaos of abolishing despotism in word, and preserving it in fact. And from that same day *the two State sores* of arbitrary despotism in the interior and of barbarous anarchy abroad, *were certainly assuaged* by the empirical constitutional unguent, but because of the prurulence of the rising deceptive and chaotic elements they became *fetid*.

Liberty of thought, of speech and of the press could not but command more or less respect, being clearly defined in the ambiguous National Constitutions. Consequently, Kings had to resign themselves to suffocat-

ing these liberties only in those respects that particularly interested them, namely, in those related to the science of government and its connected religion. And this they did. And perceiving that the more they pretended to be defenders of liberty of thought, of speech, of the press, and of all other branches of learning, the better they would succeed, they became outright patrons of the other sciences.

The lack of science in government premeditated, willed, and brought about by royal power, with the acquiescence of the burgher class, which nevertheless desired to attain governmental domination, reinforced the empirical falsity of National Constitutions. And the Chaotic Period, already initiated, became thereby so aggravated as to extend down to our times, whence, looked at in perspective, it appears to be divided into these three series of facts.

1) Almost all the sciences, little by little, rose to dizzy heights of progress, which if prophesied in the past would have seemed follies, and rendered schools truly distinguished in these branches of knowledge.

On the other hand, the science of government remained basely empirical, and turned schools into so many foci of deceit and stupidity in regard to the knowledge of Public Right, i. e., the branch of learning concerning the legal principles which regulate the

relations of individuals to the State as well as of one State to another. And the science of government remained thus undeveloped because of the complicity of two categories of professors who, lusting after lucre and inflamed with vanity, voluntarily accepted in the schools a similar position to that occupied by the ancient masters constrained by absolute tyrannical despotism. Thus fawningly, and with the consent of the governing burghers, the professors lent themselves to the secret influence of the King.

The first category of professors submitted themselves to the royal purposes in their character as professors of *Constitutional Law*; by writing books and lessons of misleading and idiotic constitutional theory; by putting forward not positive but metaphysical principles of Constitutional Law, swallowed in fatuities of legal philosophies; by inducing the belief that royal powers, which had only made their appearance in National Constitutions through cowardly opportunism, were immanent and real.

The second class lent themselves to the subtle ends of the King as professors of *International Law*; by writing books and lessons of misleading and foolish International Law; by professing not positive but metaphysical principles of International Law, also enveloped in the fatuities of legal philosophies; by foolish discussion about national independence, depicted as the culmination of civilisation instead of as an anarchical and barbarous means for Kings to enrich themselves; by inducing the belief that treaties among States have the validity of legal relations, whereas States, in their independence, proclaim themselves in the non-State of international anarchy, unfettered by legality as between themselves, and incapable of accepting legality or of executing legal treaties.

By lending themselves to these purposes both of these classes of professors defiled the pure minds of youths, who, when they became men ripe for government, could not but apply these teachings to the advantage of royal despotism.

2) The progress of all sciences, except that of government, had, as never before, unveiled an immensity of new facts which, being in opposition to surviving religious teachings, reduced the prestige of the churches and brought them to the level of the schools of Public Right. For priests and pastors, desiring lucre, voluntarily accepted in the church positions similar to those occupied by their ancient predecessors constrained to their acceptance by absolute tyrannical despotism, and fawningly, with the consent of the governing burghers, lent themselves to the secret influences of Kings. They served the royal purposes by writing books and sermons discouraging the enthusiasm aroused by scientific progress and inducing the belief that no scientific discovery contrary to their religious teachings had any value, that their moral authority was eternally such as it was by divine will, even as were the royal powers inserted in National Constitutions and confirmed by professors of Constitutional Law.

So that, by their submissiveness, priests and pastors, while they prevented religion from advancing correspondingly with science, debased it in very fact, defiling, moreover, the pure minds of youths, who, having later become men ripe for government, could not but apply the teachings in Public Right they had received, to the advantage of churches and of royal despotism.

3) Against the scholastic and ecclesiastical perversions of the science of government, there were set up in the meantime, democratic commonplaces derived from the latest mistaken religious progress, that is, three exalted and erroneous, liberal and equalitarian puritan affirmations, fruit of the unfortunate reaction against aristocratic cunning which was likewise defiling the pure minds of youths. These youths, when later they became men in government, with their insipid democratic phraseology also aided the conservation of aristocracy and, instead of bringing about equitable laws between dominators and dominated, caused both to keep their laws of liberal, equalitarian and hypocritical iniquity.

4) Scientific, philosophical and religious ideas form the substratum which is a necessity for works of art. They are the solid ground work from which artistic flights are made. And great artists must receive a foundation from great scientists, great philosophers and great religious teachers, in order to do great works of art. For their mentality cannot well suffice to the task of creating such a substratum, so opposed are the faculties of profound observation and logic required in order to be great scientists, great philosophers, great religious teachers, to the faculties of high imagination and entertainment required in order to be great artists.

Therefore, false Constitutions, which allowed the science of government to remain erroneously empirical, and which, in consequence, permitted religion to remain erroneously superstitious, were bound to produce the calamity of great artists making political works of art which turned out insignificant because they were based upon substrata of governmental ignorance, and confirmed political errors.

Therefore, artists in general, especially literary men, because of their knowledge of writing, produced works of seductively sophistic character, for the greater delusion of the readers. Poets did even worse, because of the freedom of fancy which fearlessly and fascinatingly permits tales of all kinds.

These, if in bad faith and lusting for lucre, became adulators of all the scholastic and ecclesiastical malice and stupidities about divine right and divine royal power, preserved in the Constitutions; if in good faith and burning with anti-autocratic hatred, they became democratic extollers of all the ingenuities about Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, opposed by Democracy to Autocracy.

And in the meantime, artists — especially if poets — through the attraction of their works of art, defiled the minds of youths, already defiled by schools and churches,

who, on attaining to government — either applied the teachings received to the advantage of churches and of royal despotism — or else combated them in an insipid democratic way.

BECAUSE OF THE HIGH TREASON OF KINGS AND BASE ACQUIESCENCE OF THE BURGHER CLASS, the following facts also came to pass.

DIVINE RIGHT.

Divine right caused royal successions to take place with constitutional disregard of the national will. This was exercised capriciously by the King's contemporaries, upon whom the National Constitution was first imposed. Later generations were made to believe that even to think of discussing it in order to reform it was an act of *lèse majesté*. And thus the Science of Government remained yet more incapable of development, inhibited from making progress, which is the basis of every Science.

The doctrine of divine right caused the person of the King and Queen to be censured, not constitutionally with honest and courageous frankness, but through an undercurrent of inept murmurs and scorn.

Divine right permitted the continuation, in a constitutional way, of the vulgar comedy of Their Majesties' occasional showy intervention and of the people's plebeian curiosity to admire them; unconscious as it was that it was paying for this show, with the sweat of its ill-compensated work, unconscious of the commiserating and mocking smile with which Their Majesties responded to its joyful acclamations.

Divine right caused public squares to be the more encumbered and disfigured by ugly and idiotic monuments to the Constitutional King, caused libraries to be the more encumbered and disfigured by servile and idiotic encomiums of the Constitutional King, in short, made of royalty an odious, hypocritical farce, in contrast to the awful tragedy of tyranny it had been.

And there was no speech made to the King or by the King in which God was not brought in, with allusions to divine right and applied to divine grace that the King might live long. And there was no solemnity at which, with these same allusions, God was not exploited.

In schools and churches, ragged little children were taught to declaim about divine right. In theatres, people who would rather have put on their overcoats and gone home to sleep, were made to sing about it. Even in the two Chambers of Parliament, members stooped to proclaim it. Nobles found in it class nourishment for their hereditary succession, while burghers, if they had not become haphazard or notary Princes, Dukes, Marquises, Earls or Barons, saw in it an innocuous ceremonial, being satisfied with the government domination, which, apart from certain royal corrosions, they succeeded in exercising to their own advantage.

PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT ATROPHIED.

Popular electoral representation and parliamentary government, which had been the corner stones of the revolutionary movement by which the burgher class had obtained popular support, had imposed the National Constitution and had conquered government authority, both atrophied in their infancy because of royal influence and burgher acquiescence. Such extensions of electoral rights as were now and then conceded, were, in fact, null or petty. But the arguments adopted by rulers to deny the vote, were more idiotic than petty, and became the starting-point for other arguments on the part of the ruled to demand it. Education, the payment of taxes, the prerogative of the male sex, with the natural consequence that not women but men only as heads of the family or of business concerns, should have the right to express opinions upon government affairs: these were the reasons which, coming into play at every demand for an extension of the vote: *a)* recalled the first condescension which the grim and rapacious, sanguinary and obscene man, the King,

deigned to show when he admitted the possibility of subjects' sometimes being called to give an opinion upon some internal government affair, *b)* perpetuated the pretence that the electoral vote is a gracious royal concession, *c)* produced a multitude of malicious and idiotic discussions between opposite parties: discussions which, if not malicious, gave proof of extreme ignorance regarding the fundamental conception of the Nation, which, we know, lies in the desired and admitted connection with the State on the part of the born and naturalised in a given place, whether male or female.

These discussions, if not malicious, gave proof of bovine ignorance as to the essence of the electoral vote, which we know is a bloodless, controlled and civilised use of men's forces of mind, of body and of wealth in their struggle for government domination, a use constitutionally harmonised in order to avoid that bloody arbitrary and barbarous one, to which, lacking the vote, recourse must be had.

These discussions being thus idiotic but of malicious origin, that is, promoted by fear on the part of the King and nobles lest they might lose the advantages of governmental domination which they enjoyed — because extension of the electoral vote would have made the people conquer government authority and domination — produced these consequent facts.

WOMEN AND VOTE.

Women, because they had remained from generation to generation iniquitously extraneous to politics, had, fortunately for themselves also remained free from the mental limitations in matters of politics that had taken lodging in masculine brains. What in women seemed their political deficiencies, became, therefore, their particular aptitude to look upon politics with unprejudiced, pure, fresh and new mentality. Women, briefly, were those who, claiming the right to vote, could seek, discover and utter truths of political science never said by

unfortunate men, who had remained in the empirical and practising business of politics. Had women done this, they would, by evidencing an intellectual superiority over the males, have given value to their pretensions to the vote and would have quickly succeeded in winning it.

They would have understood and have made the men understand that the forces of mind, of body and of wealth with which they were endowed, required the exercise of the vote, as a way of enabling them to use these forces legally and civilly instead of anarchically and barbarously, as a way of realising their duty towards the laws, even when remaining in an electoral minority and powerless to impose fresh laws.

But women only knew how to begin well, in denouncing the shameful fact that men had not given them a right to vote for the same reasons that they had not given it to children, to the insane and to delinquents. After this terrible accusation it would have been logical for women to mistrust all the men's constitutional theories and to begin to think for themselves. Instead, they knew no better than to study, memorise and repeat all the malicious and idiotic theories which they learnt from men. Thus they became lost in the unending discussions about the extension of the vote, which men were organising, and gave the latter a strong reason for opposing the female suffrage, in that women had shown that they could do nothing but repeat men's speeches, and consequently gave promise of adding nothing to political life but a larger quantity of useless talk in Parliamentary Assemblies. And thus they condemned themselves to not having the vote. Because the malicious and idiotic reasons invented by men for conceding the vote, through use, had become conventional falsities; had become obvious and indisputable — so much so as to prevent the famous *universal suffrage*, i. e., extension of the vote to all mankind, and to make it seem as against nature to give women a right to vote.

Women claimed the vote on the ground of the taxes that some women pay — and were answered that taxes are generally paid by the head of the family, that is, by men, and that taxes are also paid by the insane, by delinquents and by minors who have no vote. Women claimed the vote on the ground of literacy, namely, on the ground of the progress made by some women in literature, in science, in poetry, and were answered that usually men are more learned and, therefore, their wise counsels regarding government matters could be held to be sufficient. Women claimed the vote on the ground that they, like men, are subjected to obedience to the laws, and were answered that it was impossible that political equality should exist between men and women, seeing that nature, with the diversity of sex, had created a diversity of functions. So that the question of women's right to vote, being based on the ground of empirical discussion, could not but last for ever, because of the equivalent erroneousness of the arguments for and against.

And the misfortune was that not only did women remain deprived of the vote, but many men, continuing in ignorance of the positive reason for it, remained deprived of the vote which, through scientific feminine action, they might have had.

And the regrettable consequence was that the minds of humanity, deprived of positive conceptions of government, were deprived of a Positive Science of Government to which through women's action they might have attained. They remained incapable of examining scientifically, and thus of truly solving, the most terrible problems of government, first among which is that of armaments and wars — incapable therefore of avoiding this most horrible of all wars which, in the general ignorance produced by political empiricism, was slowly preparing.

And the unfortunate result was that women remained petty, while they might have been the first to understand political

truths not understood by the greatest statesmen and might have made themselves leaders in a great movement. They might have helped to put an end to government imbecilities, and to give a scientific basis also to politics.

ELECTIONS.

The convocation of electors to elections and of the elected to parliamentary meetings was considered a royal prerogative, always in memory of the condescension shown by the first King when he admitted subjects to consultations about the internal affairs of government. And not a few men in government undertook, in the sharpest parliamentary conflicts, to threaten the royal prerogative of dissolving the Parliamentary Assembly.

PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION.

Was proportioned not to the forces of mind, of body and of wealth of electoral regions and circumscriptions, but to population — namely, to one only of the positive elements of government domination, that of the force of body. So that Parliaments became encumbered, in majorities, by representatives of very numerous but also very stupid and very poor electors, encumbered, moreover, by State solicitors and functionaries, capable of being brought to favour royal or burgher aspirations through dialectic allurements and unseemly perversions of every truth.

Since the King proclaimed himself as such, not because of proud or vain desire for government domination, but because of divine right and of his obligation to obey God's commands and endure the painful cares of State for the protection of his own people — so the less scrupulous meddlers with votes had themselves elected, not because of any proud and vain desire for government domination, but because of the electors' confidence and of their obligation to govern the country in the interest of its prosperity. And therefore electoral candidatures became full of hypocrisies.

ELECTORAL ABSTENTION.

Was not considered as cowardice, not as a favour to politicians thus rendered freer to accomplish their political deceptions unobserved, not as a sign of ignorance that politics are the science of life in government. Even though voting was vilely secret, as a safeguard against royal persecutions, electoral abstention was vaunted as a dignified reluctance to meddle in political struggles, which were not approved of by His Majesty, but rather criticised because of their being a sign of indiscreet interference with his divine power of government.

MILITARISM AND MILITARISTS.

Came into existence — as a product of despotism, denied in word in National Constitutions and preserved in fact in divine right — as a product of the false national, electoral and constitutional conception.

In Constitutional Governments, in fact, the militia, and more especially its chiefs, had the illusion that it depended not upon the electoral representation, namely, the Chamber of Deputies, as guarantee of the observance of national laws and as responsible authority over the contingencies of war, but really, as was written in National Constitutions, upon its King. It supposed itself, as in times of despotic government, arbiter with him, of the question of making wars for its own imperialistic ends, or for the purpose of imposing itself upon the deputies who, by refusing financial means, might think themselves able to hinder the royal and military arbitrary power given by the Constitutions.

And this illusion, deriving from malicious and confusing defilements of the national, electoral and constitutional conception — while it was the first cause of the birth of militarism and militarists — produced another illusion which, increasing the confusion, became a second cause of the evil of militarism. This second illusion was: that the militia could, during National Constitutions, profit by the same old despotic

arbitrariness, in order when it pleased, to make common cause with the people. Another illusion was supported by the fact that electoral rights were limited to the few and were insignificant, that is, that the people could not act radically in government except through revolutions, as in despotic times. It arose also from the fact that the militia, almost everywhere, was still taken by conscription, that is, by military slavery, in homage to the principles of a nominal democracy which, as a matter of form, demanded *equal rights* for everybody, but in fact produced *equal duties* for everyone to die for the Fatherland, if unable to hide therefrom.

And as a consequence of these causes and reasons for militarism, the militia, as in the times of despotic Kingdoms and Empires, continued to be the arbiter of government, therefore — when praised by some it was hated by others — and viceversa, when praised by one party was hated by another.

NATIONALISMS.

Arose, because of noisy *nationalists* who took to enlarging on the subject of the Nation, nationality and nationalism with a miserable lack of conscience and by means of agitations. There were those who said that language should be taken as basis of nationality; not reflecting that languages are formed and transformed, nor that, with such criteria, many Nations would have to be suppressed and incorporated in others speaking the same language, while certain Nations of polyglot character would have to be cut up and divided among the larger ones which spoke their respective tongues. There were those who said that mountains and seas should mark the national boundaries of the several Nations; and did not reflect that whistling steam engines mock at mountains and seas, nor that, with such criteria, it would be impossible to believe Nations to have been variously formed here and there through royal conquests and migratory conjunctions. It would be necessary upon such criteria to suppose them to have been created by God, upon the out-

line of mountains and seas, as varied as they appear today. There were those who said that the ethnical, namely, race characteristics of the inhabitants of the several places, should serve as the basis for recognising the various nationalities; and did not reflect that the people of a Nation inhabiting any given place have impressed upon their faces the mixed characteristics of all the races that through centuries have lived there. There were those who brought forward the argument of religion, as the basis for nationality, not reflecting that, with such criteria, those Nations in which there is a mixture of beliefs, would have to be suppressed or dispersed, or else that those national sections having a different religious faith from the larger part of their Nation would have to be detached and appointed to other Nations. There were those who found the criterion of nationality in the boundaries for military defence, forgetting that boundaries for military defence have a double value and convenience. There were those who cried at the top of their voice that the criterion of nationality must be the will of the people, and did not consider the various irreconcilable wills of the component parts of a people, did not reflect, in fact, that, as an individual in order to be born needs other individuals to give him birth, so a Nation, in order to exist, demands that the collectivity of other already existing Nations shall permit it to be. Such people did not reflect that the new nationality of a people may, in the present persistent state of anarchy among independent nationalities, constitute a grave danger for another people.

There were those, in short, who, lacking conscience in discussing the question of nationality and Nations, theorised and philosophised about anthropology, ethnography, historical sociology, somatological characteristics (cranium, nose, skin, eyes, hair), physical characteristics (intellect, sentiment, language, religion), natural characteristics (mountains and seas), military defence, popular will, brotherly ties, and in this way, because of their lack of positive elementary knowledge of the essence of the State, sepa-

rated the conception of State from that of Nation. This they did instead of making a clear distinction and concretising the real transition from the Kingdom State to the Nation by rendering the empirical National Constitutions scientific. They united the conception of Nation to that of militarism; confused it with wars of patriotic aggrandisement which had always existed; made the Nation derive from the King; even integrated it outright with monarchism, which is a survival of despotism and subjection, that is to say, the negation of nationalism in a true sense; briefly, turned the Chaotic Period towards becoming a political farce.

DIPLOMACY.

The old practice of war had created the function of *ambassadors* for treating of the question of peace. In the meantime, the octopus of bureaucracy had been growing. From the unnatural union of diplomacy with the octopus of bureaucracy only an ugly thing could be born, the go-between. *Diplomacy* was created for these objects:

1) with the apparent task of — taking care of the good relations of the State with other States — protecting subjects outside the dominions of their own State — treating the eventual question of peace;

2) with the actual task of — securing commercial advantages abroad — imposing taxes upon subjects of their State abroad, for every service they might need — weaving war plots against other States.

Embassy offices therefore in reality were, mediation and brokerage agencies for commercial monopolies, spying and corruption agencies for war alliances and machinations, matrimonial agencies for the sons or daughters of the King or Emperor with the sons or daughters of another King or Emperor, whose relationship was thought most useful for monopolistic and warlike ends but, above all, monarchical agencies for reciprocal support and for the repression of democratic constitutionalism. Nothing therefore re-

mained of the primitive function of the ambassador. The perverse evolution had been complete.

PUBLIC DEBT.

With war pretexts especially, the *Public Debt* was invented, consisting in the following delight.

Governors and their followers, in the name of the State and for the greatness of the Fatherland, borrowed money — with bills of exchange that fell due upon descendants — and enjoyed it.

The descendants, seeing the liability of these bills of exchange falling upon them from their glorious ancestors, could have rid themselves of them either by not recognising them as valid, or by insisting that they should be paid by the rich heirs of the ancestors who signed them, or by the heirs of those people who indolently and too carelessly allowed them to be signed. But this would have entailed throwing the responsibility for them upon those who almost all, at the time, were in actual government. What, therefore, did these not less glorious descendants in government think of doing? In the name of the State and for the Fatherland's greatness, they borrowed more money — with bills of exchange falling due upon later descendants — and enjoyed it.

Thus the Public Debt increased, as did likewise the Fatherland's greatness.

COLONIAL WARS.

The necessity for wars of patriotic aggrandisement continued to exist. It was really produced by the lasting sore of international anarchy and by the need of carrying on such wars in order, as we know, to — invade neighbouring States — suppress their dangerous independence — extend boundaries — have a greater field of riches to appropriate or produce through the amplified boundaries and outlets — provide an outlet for the increasing number of inhabitants —

placate internal aspirants to government, now consisting principally of militarists and nationalists, by turning them towards conquests and foreign domination — find abroad other men and women to subjugate, to exploit as labourers, as soldiers or as consumers of produce — be able, by these means, with these increased forces, to live better and more securely in the face of conquering invasions from other States. And this necessity for wars for patriotic aggrandisement continued to exist to the supreme satisfaction and advantage of the nobles, of the more practically democratic burghers and even of many of the populace, who were thereby able to satisfy their ambitions for profit and domination.

But while the necessity of wars for patriotic aggrandisement thus lasted, the commonplaces of democracy also remained, and wars had to be waged with a respect for democratic sensibility.

This demanded that there should be no wars of patriotic aggrandisement for conquest. So wars of patriotic aggrandisement were carried on for colonisation. Imperial domination was as eager for conquest as before; the means of military violence employed in it were as ferocious, cruel, frightful and altogether worse than before; the slavery which derived from these newer wars was substantially the same as the old, but it was agreed upon that such conquering domination did not exist because it was now called *colonial expansion*. The fiction, briefly, consisted in fostering the belief that this or that State was subjugated for no other reason than of conferring upon it the benefits of civilisation, as if, in order to confer such benefits, it were necessary besides violating the State in question also to exploit it, as if civilising, like any other real benefit, could not be carried on with losses instead of with profits, as if colonists were really so stupid as not to understand that the good father dominates over his children during their infancy not to exploit and profit by them, but to educate and make sacrifices for them. Nevertheless, democracy was content with

a respect for mere phraseology, and of this there was plenty. Colonial conquests multiplying themselves, produced as of old the imperial greatness of the Nation that carried them on, with this result, however, that formerly conquests were made by the Kingdom with sincere ferocity, whereas now they were made with equal ferocity but with added hypocrisy.

Certainly colonial conquests were undertaken for these admirable reasons: because a given State had to be conquered, dominated and made a colony of inasmuch as it did not have the degrees of civilisation necessary for making rules for prostitution and properly exercising its independence, which is to say, was not itself capable of making civilising colonial conquests — because the colonised State needed the civilising protectorate of the colonising Nation, which exhausted itself in conceding it, so much so as to become not only the mother but also the father of the colony, thus Mother-Fatherland — because this State was to receive with gratitude such a protectorate with imperial militia also sent to make it evident — because also such militia came in order to save the colony the expense and trouble of keeping its own militia for its own security. Furthermore, the Mother-Fatherland was anxious to facilitate the progress of the colonial State and to help it to become capable of governing itself; though it was unable to hasten this consummation too much, being obliged to respect the sentiments, morals, traditions, superstitions, hierarchies and vices of the heads of the colony and their associates. It was obliged to respect all these forces in homage to liberty, even should such respect cause the colonists' lack of civilisation to endure for ever, or postpone to a remote future the advent of their civilisation, their independence, and the end of the protectorate. Another reason for imperial tutelage was to be found in the fact that the State, with faith in its future and lovingly cared for by the Mother-Fatherland, should remain quiet as a colony and not lend ear to other nations which, through imperial jealousy, might stir it up for the

purpose of alienating it from its obedience and inducing it to revolutionary movements. Another excuse for the protraction of imperial domination arose from the desire of imperial merchants and business men that the colony should buy the industrial products it needed from the Mother-Fatherland and should sell through the same, which would thus hold a monopoly there, not of course for the sake of enriching its dominating classes at the expense of the colonists, but for the sake of the civilising tenderness of the dominating classes towards the colonists and for patriotic aggrandisement. It is well too that those starving in the Mother-Fatherland should have the opportunity of emigrating to the colony, that is, competing in work with the natives of the colony, who, because of this competition, are constrained to worse pay and harder work, but are proud of such constraint since it is to the advantage of their countrymen from the Mother-Fatherland, namely, to the advantage of their civilisers. Moreover, the capital of the burgher class could find investment in the colony through the establishment of industries to exploit the wealth lying there and the advantage of cheap labour, not of course for the sake of greater exploitation, but for the purpose of developing the colony. And finally, it is a good thing that the colony, because of this protectorate and civilising service rendered to it by the Mother-Fatherland, should not be submitted to taxes, but should for its own pleasure pour into the coffers of the imperial Capital, with a spontaneity induced by the governor and the patriotic militia, an annual tribute, convertible into beautiful coins bearing the impress of the Emperor's head. Nor is it a less desirable thing that the colony in the case of the Mother-Fatherland's going to war, should send, with a spontaneity also assisted by the governor, soldiers ready to fight and die for the safety and greatness of the Empire.

THE PRESS.

Together with the very great development of industries and banks there came about that of *the press*, and journalism was

born, with very different aims from those of furthering civilisation, for which it was poetically said to exist.

Poems upon the beneficent influence of the press, like all poems, contained a very small part of truth. The press, taken as a whole, was the printed paper industry, which was developed chiefly through newspapers and afforded both open and secret profits. The open profits were those afforded by the moral bent to which the readers' minds were subjected and the determination of their consequent way of thinking and acting according to the political ambitions of those interested in this industry, whether as capitalists, as writers or as government leaders or followers. The press was, briefly, nutritious food for brains, but often poisonous. So that newspapers were like mushrooms. The smaller, created with scanty means, were less meaty but also probably less poisonous. The larger ones, founded with great resources, were more meaty but also probably more poisonous. There certainly was a beneficent press, but it was carried on under difficulties that made it exiguous and not very sturdy. The fat and powerful press was the more or less evil press — the press which, in order better to succeed in its secret poisonous aims, was rich in news, in articles, in pages that had nothing to do with these aims, but that, adding to its attractiveness, helped to make it more widespread and authoritative.

Those who each morning asked pantingly for their newspaper, had they known the greater or less deception with which every line, not of story only but of politics, was made up, had they known the price asked and paid for the deceit in each of these lines, would have dropped the paper like a brain poison, would have preferred to know nothing of it and its news. Fortunately, the people were what they were, and the newspapers, together with a great deal of harm, did some good. School teachings were still so false, and most people's heads were still so empty, that, had not the newspaper come to their rescue, they would not have known what to say all day and would have felt hu-

miliated. This was especially true of the newspapers with most means, of those that were fullest of news, of articles, and of pages and of those with the largest circulations. We all know those people so eager for the newspaper. They open their eyes in the morning with their minds like a cloud and their tongues as if paralyzed. They ask for the newspaper and drink it in, and their minds become coloured, and their tongues begin to go like so many little motors. In cafés, in streets, in offices, in restaurants, in private houses, in theatres, they go talking knowingly about everything, about politics, about art, science and the news of the day. They go about as if under the necessity of ejecting what they swallowed in the morning. They only stop when, late in the evening, they have nothing more to eject. Then they fall asleep and are at peace. And finally permit others to be at peace too. But on the morrow, they awaken again, with their minds again like clouds, and their tongues as if paralysed. They ask for the newspaper, drink it in and begin the process again. And with this swallowing down and throwing up they have no time to think — they even say they have no time to stop and think. And in this miserable way of living, according to the interests they find promoted by the poison they have imbibed, they fight with those who, having opposite interests have preferred to drink the poison of a different paper. They fight, grow heated, insult one another, become agitated and ruin one another. And according to which section prevails, is formed the public opinion necessary to the printed paper traders. These persons, together with the government ministers, and in telephonic communication with the sovereigns, from their windows assist at this confusion, proud of having produced it and of having formed public opinion, happy at being able by means of this opinion to reach their longed for aims thereby helping the paper trade.

Now — taking account of these facts, and putting them into relation first with the idiocies and falsity of which political opinion is made up in the Chaotic Period, and second-

ly with our axiom which says: *much speaking and writing are a sign that the speaker does not know what he is talking about, or desires the opposite of what is to be believed* — we can imagine what fireworks of polemical journalism were necessarily showered every day upon every political argument, and how much the press, and journalism in particular, necessarily aggravated the Chaotic Period.

It must remain the work of advancing civilisation and humanistic effort to purify the press which is so powerful an organ of modern life. What is needed is to secure the advantage of the news publicity afforded by the press without the fatal hypnosis so often exercised for evil which, in the hands of unscrupulous men it can exert on a public that is only half educated. A powerful means for this purification would be the establishment of a Central Press Bureau in the heart of a World Centre of Communication, where the authenticity of information could be guarded by authoritative representatives of all the nations, and the enormous power of the press be used for the good of mankind and for that purpose only, not to assist the secret political or economic activities of some one man or clique.

POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY.

There was no great or small branch of government into which despotic royal influence did not seek to introduce itself, subtly and corruptingly. Not even the offices of the Commons succeeded in remaining immune from the pervasive royal influence. Imagine then how it was with the high organs of State!

Proposals of laws were opportunities for tricks on the part of *ministers* and *bureaucrats* who, in the old despotic way, if they knew them to be displeasing to His Majesty, allowed them to remain unenacted, while if they knew them to be pleasing to His Majesty, had them passed at once, aware that they could thus last but little and cause more disturbance than order, besides turning the

legislators into, not makers, but dusters of the law.

Similarly the application of laws was often unjust because of royal influence, and especially so were interpretations of laws by judges, who thereby became irresponsible usurpers of the thought and power of legislators, in the name of His Majesty, by whom they were nominated and in whom, according to the old despotic conception, resided the highest judicial wisdom.

And therefore liberty of thought, speech and of the press, the liberty of meeting and associating, which in other branches of science was broadly protected, in the field of politics and all that concerned monarchical despotism, underwent continual judiciary castration. And therefore the institution of the idiotic and incompetent jury was preserved as security against possibly greater evils of injustice.

And in the meantime, the responsibility of government — which in the despotic system was real, because it was liable to be subjected to the swift justice of regicides — in the falsely constitutional system, belonged neither to the King, presumed to be irresponsible, nor to the ministers. It did not belong to the ministers who hid themselves behind superior councils, namely, behind bodies whose joint irresponsibility covered that of the minister who inspired their decisions. It did not belong to the ministers who were ready to eclipse themselves at critical moments, by bravely tendering their resignation and taking a little trip abroad — resignations and trips favoured by the succeeding ministers, with indulgence for the faults committed. Briefly, responsibility was nobody's. The High Court of Justice, for the judgment and condemnation of responsible ministers, was a mockery. Moreover, as an advantage, there was this, that the promised reforms and the ambitious plots of the aspirants to government — which in despotism occurred through frequent and bloody revolutions — in false constitutionalism occurred even more frequently but

bloodlessly; occurred with cheerful falls and rises of ministries: occurred with the fall of ministers satisfied with having for a time luxuriated in government and delighted to be able to return, after a little rest and amusement, with new promises of reform and new plots, and to become again the right hand of the King.

THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC.

Especial royal consideration was shown to the noble class, with the recondite aim of separating it from the burgher class, of aiding, through it, the return of government to absolute royal power, of lessening that of the burghers and of avoiding that ultra-democratic power for which the burghers were shouting in order to maintain themselves. This they sought with threats of extending electoral rights and of bringing a greater number of ultra-democrats, namely of people hostile to royal power, into the Chamber of Deputies.

But these threats mattered little. Royal intrigues and intermarriages persisted. Then the burghers, losing patience, departed from their attitude of base acquiescence. Fearing for their own domination, though declaring that they feared a new slavery planned against the people, they again demanded and again obtained, as in the past, the support of the popular forces, and with a revolutionary movement, i. e., a *Coup d'Etat*, dismissed the King and the hereditary Chamber of nobles.

With another fundamental constitutional law, they then instituted the *Democratic Republic* — a Republic different from the imperial one of bad despotic memory, but also different from the puritan one of ephemeral equalitarian memory. A Republic, however, which had to conform to the equalitarian democratic phraseology by which it had triumphed. And it did so by synthesizing its programme in the three words *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity* — three words that remained mere words and left its programme an assemblage of words. Briefly,

they instituted a Republic which altered the overthrown monarchical constitutional government, not by a radical representative system — owing to the lack of positive ideas then inconceivable — but by a much mitigated despotism, still without general electoral rights, but pruned of divine right and of the consequent despotic hereditary privileges. The two legislative Chambers were retained excepting that they were both made elective, so as not to change the slow habits of government and to give the rich a still greater field of vain and childish participation in government. An elective President was put in the place of the King. Ministries continued to rise and fall. National independence was still fatuously exalted, since it profited, no longer the King, but as much and even more than before the burgher class. Imperial colonial conquests continued with democratic modesty, that is to say, without adding imperial adjectives to the label of Democratic Republic. Briefly, the burghers continued to hold the domination of government in their hands and to enrich themselves by exploitation. And since the Fatherland continued to be only a little less rotten than before, the popular class continued to be only a little less at the mercy of misery and charity, of prostitution and crime. But it had now the pleasure of reading at every street corner the three words, *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*.

In one thing, however, the popular class really received a decided advantage, namely, in freedom of speech and of the press and in liberty of meeting and association. The Democratic Republic, created chiefly by democratic phraseology, could deal with everything except the liquidation of monarchical privileges and the abolition of the prohibitions of speech, of press and of association by which monarchical privileges had been preserved and against which the democratic revolution had cried loudest. And such liberality in the freedom of speech, of press and of association — opening ever wider the popular mind, not only in the Democratic Republic, but also, by its influence, in the Kingdoms which because of

their vicinity or interests had most relations with it — produced an immense civilising progress. It gave the populace the possibility of acquiring consciousness of its own strength and the desire to attain to power in government, that is to say, to take the place which the burgher class had taken from the nobles and thus complete the natural cycle of dominations.

ALTERNATING REPUBLICS AND EMPIRES.

The first to take advantage of the ample republican liberty of speech and of the press, of meeting and associating were those who had done most to hinder it — the ex-King, the ex-nobles and their accomplices, they being the most used to and able to use it. In the obscurity into which they had fallen, they found it convenient for working upon the people. The Democratic Republic had been unable to end misery, since this was the result of the exploiting system which had remained unaltered, being the vital basis of the burgher system. It had only been able to diminish it slightly, by the liberality of the concessions made. Similarly the Democratic Republic had been unable immediately to give full consciousness to the popular class. It had only been able to increase this slightly by the liberality of the concessions made.

Therefore, it should have been easy for the ex-King, the ex-nobles and their accomplices, using the liberty of speech, of the press and of association allowed by the republican government, to incite the people and make it believe that, with the return of royal magnificence, its misery and unconsciousness would cease and that the felicity of the people, which the younger members among the populace had never seen but might very well imagine was about to arrive, would return.

And by such machinations the ex-King, the ex-nobles and their accomplices sometimes did succeed in overthrowing the Democratic Republic by a royal revolutionary counter-movement, that is, by a counter

Coup d'Etat, and in restoring the Imperial Kingdom, that had first been absolutely despotic, then newly constitutional, with two Chambers, the one elective, the other hereditary or for life, and with the suppression of liberty of speech, of the press and of associating. Even if successful, however, it was not long before the new Imperial Empire was overthrown by a new Democratic Republic, which arose by the same means as the preceding one and with renewed ample liberty of speech, of the press, of meeting and association. An ample liberty which — as the popular mind continued to expand, not only in the Democratic Republic, but also, in the Kingdoms that because of their vicinity or interests had most relations with it, — produced a consequent immense progress in the popular class. This class, moreover, acquired consciousness of its own strength and the desire to attain to the domination of government, that is to say, to take the place which the burghers had retaken from the nobles.

ANARCHISM.

By this time not only ex-Kings, ex-nobles and their accomplices knew how to use liberty of speech, of the press, of meeting and association but so did also many of the people. These, however, lacked positive ideas of government, having, in a more or less puritan way, learned democratic commonplaces and their connected aberrations regarding independence and liberty, equality and fraternity. Therefore it was natural that they should use phraseology with all possible liberality in order to unmask the incessant plottings of the ex-King and ex-nobles, to denounce the hypocritical burgher exploitations, to show that in the depositions and restorations of the King, in the rises and falls of constitutional ministries, in the *Coups d'Etat* accomplished, the same now monarchical now republican trickeries, forever the same iniquities and injustices of government, were always revealed. And it was also natural that such free and atrocious accusations, reaching the most impressionable and impulsive minds among the people,

should have caused the first aberrated and desperate anarchical cry to break from their lips spontaneously and excusably — the first aberrated and desperate anarchical outburst, made up of imprecations against every government and against the institution of government itself. A first anarchical outburst that we can imagine to have been as follows :

Down with everything and everybody ! It is time to end government ! Absolute Monarchy, Constitutional Monarchy, Democratic Republic, are all one — they are organisations of a few for greater or less exploitation of all the rest.

This shame must not last. Down with privileged nobles, but down also with burgher capitalists ! Since all have used and use the institution of government to usurp the wealth proceeding from our labour, from the blood of us poor exploited. Down especially with the burghers, who in despoiling us are worse than the nobles because of the deception of their false popular garment, of their false phrases about fraternity ! Down especially with property, which is robbery !

Every rich man is a despoiler of the people or the son and heir of despoilers of the people. To this dilemma there is no solution. An individual's wealth is impossible without present or past exploitation and impoverishment of several individuals — without violent or astute graft by one individual on the wealth produced by several individuals.

But that miserable people should be compelled to enroll themselves into a police, in order to protect the rich and permit their enjoying the wealth thus grabbed, is too much. Therefore we appeal to soldiers, our true brothers.

Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, these words that till now were republican lies, must now finally be made true.

The Earth must belong to all, namely be *nobody's property*. All men must have

the right to work it in common and get from it the means of livelihood: must have the right to live, and have it not as a concession but as a natural belonging.

The precepts of entire liberty and independence, which till now were dear to Kingdoms, Empires and Nations, must now be dear to every individual, since every individual must be entirely free and independent.

No government, no law must hinder free individual energy, under the pretext of directing and aiding it.

To attain the true liberty and independence of individuals, which must precede the liberty and independence of Nations, there must be a final revolution. Every government must be overthrown.

When all have thus become individually free, without oppression of government, of law, of police, property, which is robbery, will be abolished, and people will live in communism. Everybody will work freely at what he wishes to, everyone will behave as brother to his like, will take for himself what he needs from the wealth the community will have produced.

Thus at last, long live human brotherhood! Long live the Commune!

This was the aberrated and desperate anarchical outburst, that rose from the lips of excusable and impulsive people, and should have been lost in space, like so many other incoherent cries of pain. But it was seized upon as an excellent point by poets and political windbags, delighted to be able to use this cry as a valuable philosophical and State axiom in order themselves to become either choristers or theorists of anarchy. And after having for some time with impunity advised isolated anarchical strokes — which almost always fell upon the least guilty and least responsible ruler, because he was generally most in view — finally with impunity persuaded revolutionists to com-

munist movements. Movements which, unfortunately, desired by the mass of miserable people and financially aided by those interested in discrediting republican institutions, rarely survived their inception. They were often ended by the prayers of the same deluded mass which had desired them. They came to an end and led back, if not to a new Kingdom, then to a new Democratic Republic. They ceased ignominiously and suddenly, so great was the people's horror of destruction and disorder, of trickery and iniquity, of quarrelling and violence whereof, in practice, anarchism and communism were shown to be the promoters. These doctrines, in fact but reproduced the original non-State of anarchical barbarism from which men had felt the need of advancing, when they passed into the primitive State of Tribe.

SOCIALISM.

The Democratic Republic was all that could be achieved for human civilisation as long as the baneful power of the King continued to corrupt and pervert National Constitutions. And by finally establishing it, the burgher class achieved a double salvation. Certainly it chiefly ensured its own governmental domination, incessantly nibbled at by the ex-King and ex-nobles; but it also ensured the successive and final right to government domination on the part of the popular class, which would never have been able to approach and attain it, without the burghers' intermediate domination and without the force of the burghers' amassed wealth, only by means of which was there the possibility of facing and dominating the force of royal despotism.

The full liberty of speech, of the press and of association, that, derived from the Democratic Republic, spread to surviving adjacent Kingdoms and Empires, caused the outbreak of anarchical aberrations and destructions, but disclosed the fact that it was neither the Republic, nor full liberty of speech, of the press and of association which produced these aberrations and destructions. It showed that all these things were the ul-

timate consequences of the same three puritan and heretical, independent and equalitarian affirmations;

1) from which democracy was born and which democracy used as an ineffective resistance to the rascalities of autocracy practiced upon it;

2) to which the popular class could but continue to be partly subject, and because of which this same popular class could reach government domination but the more slowly.

In fact, anarchical horrors had succeeded in making clear to the popular mind the truth concerning the barbarism of individual independence and the necessity of a government which, organising individual forces, should give every member of the nation a means of working as associate in a common enterprise — the enterprise of human life. A social enterprise in which the work of the statesman and that of the policeman, the work of the scientist and that of the boot-black, the work of the cook and that of the man or woman who cleans out the closets, are necessary. But these same anarchical horrors had not succeeded in also making clear to the popular mind the truth concerning the barbarism of national independences and the absurdity of individual equality, leading consequently to talk about national equality.

Therefore, the conception of the government organisation of work had;

1) degenerated from its inception into the absurdity that each individual in exchange for his work, which should be given under unknown rules and be considered equal to that of any other, should have the right to take according to his needs from the mass of wealth produced by the associated work; as if being member of an enterprise absolutely implied that all had equal rights and duties in it; as if there were no examples of flourishing companies with rights proportioned to the varying means of the members,

namely, to the varying forces brought by them;

2) produced the absurd assumption that every Nation must have equal rights, whether it was composed of honest and earnest workers or of dishonest and lazy ne'er do weels, and consequently caused the conception of an *academical internationalism* which received support from the fact that there were more States organised in Kingdoms than in Republics.

From anarchical aberration the popular class then passed to social fancies. Its policy took the name of *equalitarian socialism*, to distinguish it from anarchical communism. And the equalitarian inconsistencies with which this policy was teeming, aggravated by empty and persistent democratic phraseology, certainly retarded the popular classes' practical capacity for winning government domination.

But the delay would not have lasted long if popular good sense, from its experience of facts, had had a chance of manifesting itself, of doing away with equalitarian inconsistencies and of eliminating social fancies.

Socialism, however, thus primitively and vaguely conceived, could but meet the same fate as that which imperils the advent of all new ideas, the fate that also destroyed the anarchical outburst. Just as this latter doctrine was seized upon as a magnificent opening by those poets or political windbags who were delighted to be able to use it and pose as choristers or theorists of anarchy, so the primitive and vague conception of equalitarian socialism was also seized upon as a magnificent opportunity by a few ingenuous poets and windbags who became theorists of equalitarian socialism, but was especially seized upon as a convenient chance by shrewd people who found equalitarian socialism, unlike anarchical communism, useful as the motive force of a political party of which they might become leaders. And, in fact, they became *politicians* of equalitarian socialism, that is to say, obstructors rather than pro-

moters of the right conception of *socialism* and of the attainment of government domination by the popular class.

By their fault, socialism became neither passionate nor truly scientific — it became coldly academic, a doctrinary overcoat.

Socialist leaders — with most noble exceptions — in order not to incur the discomforts and dangers of acting seriously, in order not to give up any of their superfluous aristocratic or burgher comforts or forego any of their ambitions — permissible in other parties with egotistic interests, but not permissible in the socialistic party which professes altruism — in order to rise and come to the front, began to theorise minutely upon economic facts and to talk about reform or revolutionary tactics and tendencies. This they did, blind to the fact that it is wiser to make reforms and to postpone calling oneself socialist until the reforms have made socialism possible, that it is better in carrying on revolutions to plot, to take arms and to bring them into effect, than to content oneself with the title of revolutionist.

The masses which should have been aroused by the example of lives of genuine abnegation, which should have been drawn together by concepts of a true and indisputable new Science of Government, which should have been clearly convinced of the new social order, stood for a time listening to criticism of the present capitalistic society, to statistics of economic facts and to doctrinary polemics against tactics and tendencies. Then, seeing that socialism consisted in no more than this, and having perceived how their leaders strayed now into invidious incoherences, now into disconcerting contradictions, and were only constant to the principle that life is sacred in proportion as it is comfortable — thought it better to attend to their own business and, for the most part, occupied themselves in trying to make their own lives also comfortable.

In order to arouse the masses by the example of lives of true abnegation, socialist

leaders ought not to have inscribed their names in the socialist party merely to have easier access to the electoral masses and the opportunity of becoming representatives, without waiting their turn and without overcoming the inevitable difficulties of rank in the other parties. Neither ought they in good faith to have proposed to adapt themselves to the surroundings and little by little to rid themselves of selfish instincts, for it was to be presumed that they would on one occasion or another give evidence of frailty. They should, before proposing themselves as leaders and guides, have looked in the looking-glass, examined themselves, seen themselves to be by nature without selfish instincts and consequently superior to envy and vanity; able, if rich, not to reduce themselves to poverty and helplessness, but to give away their superfluous income; able, briefly, to afford on every occasion, whether moral or material, real and attractive examples of a self-denying life; examples that they could give morally by not transmitting superfluous wealth to their heirs.

In order to gather together the masses, through concepts of a true and indisputable new Science of Government, socialist leaders should, if without selfish instincts, have no regard for self-love nor attachment to ideas formerly professed. They should understand that capitalism is part of the old government edifice to be torn down and reconstructed, and, in particular, the economic part behind it. They should understand that the front part, which it is most important to destroy and reconstruct, is the political one. They should, before all else, be anxious to pull down and rebuild that part of the old government edifice where there are to be found the libraries of erroneous books about autocracy and democracy, which they studied in their youth and which remain impressed upon their minds, hindering them from drawing a clear outline of the new social order, producing their aberrations of tactics and tendencies — where these were not due to invidious lusts after power and cunning attempts to avoid the hardships of genuine labour. They should, briefly, have given a

positive political basis to their socialistic party as to all other parties, and then, upon this real, common basis of government, upon positive foundations of the science of government, have led up to the concepts of their new social order. Which is as to say that they should have distinguished between party principles and principles of government and have cooperated in creating the latter such as to be common to all parties, and then have advanced to the creation of serious principles for their own socialistic party, thus supplying a reason for undertaking a serious propaganda. By doing so they would have reached the positive foundations of government and positive inferences, with which we here conclude. They would have touched the two State sores and have perceived that the word socialism was vain without their cure, without the suppression of the barbarism of anarchy abroad and of arbitrary despotism in the interior. They would have ceased to promise a state of pacifistic social equality, which is an absurdity in the midst of this universe whose fundamental law is not identity, but the greatest possible variety of forms and of values, resulting from struggle.

To convince the masses of the new social order by clear lines, the socialist leaders should not have said that it was anti-scientific to draw them, because in time and through adaptations the lines would reveal themselves, as an easy way of avoiding a hard task and of excusing their own powerlessness. They should, upon the basis of these positive foundations of the science of government, have prepared to codify the whole system of laws with which socialism, if it is to be, will have to begin to function as soon as it has become governmental authority. They should have attended to this arduous preparation, so different from the eternal criticisms of present day society, made in amusing and profitable articles written in winter time at the warmth of the hearth, in summer time in the coolness of the mountains. They should have done this also in order to avoid those great confusions of life which are customary in the passing from one form of government to another, and which may well be imagined

as frightful on the occasion of the passing of the very essence of government, such as the change to socialism requires, which changes are to be held as causes of the restive or diffident adherence given it. Because, except for the legislative changes suggested by experience, everybody must know concretely where socialism leads, so that;

1) those who already believe in it, knowing the concrete order arranged for, may feel more convinced and eager to reach it, or understand by the impracticability of this order that socialism is a chimera unworthy of deviating so many mental activities from the precious cooperation that can be brought by government reforms;

2) those who do not believe in it, namely, the majority without whom socialism will remain a meaningless sensation exploited by the shrewd, understanding the concrete order arranged for, may believe in it and want to reach it without fear of losing a certainty, even though a wretched one, for a problematically florid uncertainty, without fear that, after socialism has been proclaimed, life will be ordered for the advantage of the bosses instead of for everybody's advantage.

And as if so many defects were few, the socialist leaders — insensible to humanity's need of religion and incapable of conceiving even the shadow of a new religious faith — added that of mockery of the masses' old religious faith. Because the doctrine of the categorical imperative of economic facts and historical materialism prescribed the uselessness of religions, even at the cost of alienating the masses and in spite of the fact that the democratic principles of liberty, equality and fraternity, which equalitarian socialism was full of, had been derived from the same religious faith at which they mocked.

All these defects — while they explain the incapacity of socialist leaders to be men of government, the bewilderment of their followers and the lack of success both of socialism and of popular government — also

explain the socialist's lack of influence upon the problem of war.

Socialist leaders remained ineffective regarding the problem of war just because they lacked positive principles of government and because they were full of phrases of the old democratic jargon and were, moreover, doctrinary. The doctrinaire is, for his own and others' misfortune, refractory to really new and efficient ideas. His mentality is such that, if a new idea comes to him from the outside and flashes inward, he cannot perceive it sharply and practically. The old ideas, of which he is learnedly full, pour like a torrent over the new one, throw it down, mix with it and only let it emerge confusedly academic. Thus he ends by repeating the old phrases and the old political moves, even when he gives himself an air of saying new things and acting in a fresh and radical manner.

Therefore, in touching upon the problem of war, socialist leaders knew no better than to make insipid speeches about pacifism, which we shall understand in the following paragraph, about disarmament, armed Nations', conciliation, arbitration, federation and the *international proletariat*. But insipid talk does not take one far. And the socialist leaders in all nations appeared helpless on the day when the most horrible of wars, which was bound to break out, did break out with a complete disregard of those who for years had been propagating elevated thoughts such as these: « We hold the conception of war to be a barbarous prejudice, desire that in all countries, in all States, in all Fatherlands, the conception should propagate itself that controversies between Nation and Nation can be solved by arbitration, without recurring to arms, whose decision may give right to him who is wrong and wrong to him who is right. As there are tribunals and judges who pass sentences upon controversies between private citizens, so we want a tribunal of the Nations to judge misunderstandings between State and State ». Elevated thoughts, wherein is revealed the absurdity of the notion that States can regu-

late their own internal affairs by themselves by means of struggles for government domination producing successive and varied internal laws, while they are not supposed to be able to do as much for their foreign affairs, preferring that these should be regulated by the peacemaking arbitrament of possibly stupid, iniquitous or irresponsible arbiters. What nebulous ineptitude there is in the supposition! So long as the barbarous anarchy of national independence exists, pasted together with scraps of paper called treaties, so long as the authority of law above Nations is lacking, wars, with their connected espionage and treachery, are the only way in which foreign affairs can be treated positively. They are the only way in which he whose value is greatest can make himself prevail abroad. They are a bad way, but nevertheless preferable to that decrepit and corrupt one which we saw was dear to decadent Empires.

It is small wonder then, though a regrettable fact, that socialist groups, through the fault of these their leaders, should have remained ignorant or, still worse, phonographic about the cruel problem of war, and should have gone on repeating that arbitration is the best way to settle conflicts between States and that the international proletariat, abolishing capitalism, will abolish conflicts. This was the word of those of their leaders who were thought to be the most intellectual. Indeed, if the International could come about tomorrow with mixed classes, as they exist in the Nation — which, by the way, is advantageous to the popular class, not only because of the liberal and social laws that come from it, but also because of the parliamentary seats that are there good and ready for the time when the proletariat will know how to occupy them all — the most doctrinary socialist leaders would oppose it, because the doctrine does not allow such development of the International. The doctrine demands that, from the first day of its inception, the International shall be wholly proletariat, and it does not matter if it comes about in the year 3000, when, at this rate, all other classes will per-

haps have disappeared. It does not matter if in the year of its occurrence the representatives of the international proletariat do not even find parliamentary benches to sit upon and must build them before they can make their international laws.

It is not a matter for wonder but only for regret that socialists were unable to prevent the course of the most horrible of wars, on the day in which it broke out, largely through the fault of their leaders who had been incapable of forestalling it. For their veto to have been given and have prevailed, it would at least have been necessary, in expiation of so many mistakes, that the socialist leaders had been willing to die on that day in the summary executions to which the then all-powerful military royal despotism would have had recourse in order to overcome them. And this dying in a hurry to prevent the great war and help the socialist cause was not in the programme of tactics and tendencies.

It is not a matter for wonder but only for regret that the popular class, under the domination of such socialist leaders was unable to perceive that these were moved by selfish worries rather than by anxiety about the welfare of the masses, and were jealous suppressors of the few really altruistic leaders among them who palpitated for human welfare. It is not remarkable that this class was unable to see that their authority was based upon a similarity to the authority of of aristocrats and burghers, was unable to undertake a rescuing movement, to invite them not to imitate aristocrats and burghers who only by death are detached from their captaincies. Nor could or did the popular class invite their leaders to resign their office (perhaps even pensioning them) on the ground that the socialist party must not become fossilised behind its old leaders, like all the other parties, but renew itself with the new blood of new minds. Instead, it was petrified under the influence of such leaders, that is, deprived of the sincere and vibrating human love which would have been necessary for its success. And in the meantime,

just as the republican leaders, conscious that the last of the three famous words written on every corner was false, had not induced the members to say Brother A, and Brother B, as would have been natural and simple on the basis of the word fraternity, but had taken to saying Citizen A, and Citizen B — even if these came from the country — so the socialist leaders, conscious that the advent of socialism was chimerical under their captaincy, had not dared to call themselves *associates*, nor had they induced the members to say Associate A, Associate B, as would have been natural and simple on the basis of the word socialism, but had taken to calling one another *comrade*, and to say Comrade A, Comrade B, because they felt that their ties were in fact invidious and conventional and more suited indeed for comradeship than for the conquest of government domination.

PACIFISM.

The very necessity of wars for patriotic aggrandisement, from which was born the democratic and hypocritical need for imperial colonies, goaded the Nation which had remained most attached to royalty and consequently the most false, i. e. unreal in its foundations, when its turn came to bid most eagerly for supreme imperial greatness, to despise democratic phraseology, to mock at it, and to prepare itself, at the propitious moment, for the great blow, with the same ferocious and frightful means of military violence that had been used by preceding Empires in their struggles for imperial greatness and which were still used by the various constitutional Nations in their colonial conquests. The great blow of the most horrible of wars of conquest, which was in the order of things and which constitutional empiricism could not prevent, contained in itself the accumulated momentums of other such violences. The great blow, therefore, was aimed for the purpose of conquest at all the States more or less taken up with colonial conquests, and with the intention of growing by the annexation of both them and their colonies. The great outrage of trying once and for all, and per-

haps successfully, to resurrect the old dream of Universal Empire, not unnaturally arose in this Nation most attached to royalty, more anachronistic in its system of government and therefore most ambitious to be the State having supreme imperial domination.

And in the meantime the chaos assumed astonishingly tragic and comic forms. Because, while all the States, whether despotic or constitutional, with grim militaristic pride, contended with one another, opposed and cheated one another, in order each one to enlarge its colonial Empire as much as possible, all, except the one meditating the great blow, strove to encourage and support one another against this State, so as to avoid the blow. But they did not resort to the only legal way by which it would have been possible to succeed, because this, consisting in the INTERNATIONAL CONSTITUTION, would have entailed the cessation of anarchical and secret royal despotism abroad. They resorted to artful and stupid and hypocritical demands for *pacifism*. Which was nonsense in the face of warlike colony-grasping, but was the only stratagem to which these States could resort, in their powerlessness to create armaments and regiments in a number superior to those, incredibly large, of that State most attached to royalty and which was breathlessly preparing the great blow, without at the same time incurring dangerous democratic discontent and desolating ministerial falls.

From this time on the field was open to the helpful dilettantes of *pacifism*. They first appeared as supporters of *armed equilibrium*, as an infallible means to conjure the great blow. A means which was to consist in keeping themselves as Allied States prepared for war in a measure always proportionate to the warlike preparation of the strongest State: keeping themselves, briefly, in a state always ready for war, without ever making it, and in the meantime empowering themselves. A means belied by the universal law, which teaches that the Universe can sustain itself inasmuch as its various and complex forces are only tran-

sitorily in the disorder of independence and unlimited liberty, namely, in the disorder of equivalent conflicts. Because the more intense these become, the more they compel the varied and universal forces to new adjustment, to pass from disorder to a new order, through the domination of the greater over the less, through a domination which, if retarded, produces an aggravation of the final clash. A means which excited the derision of the State most attached to royalty which was meditating and preparing the great blow, because there followed a striving competition of armaments in which all the States had the pleasure of impoverishing themselves while remaining always behind the pacemaker.

The supporters of the famous *obligatory arbitration*, as an infallible means of avoiding the great blow, came *second*. A means which was to consist in recognising this sublime principle — that States could certainly regulate their internal affairs, with struggles for legal domination producing varied correlative laws and a varied justice of internal domination, but that they should have their foreign affairs, even the most important and sacred, regulated through obligatory submission to the peacemaking arbitrariness of irresponsible arbitrators, able to impose now iniquitous, now stupid arbitrations, able to arrest the States' turn of domination and the progress of humanity. A means belied by universal law, which teaches that life is not peace but struggle. A means that was also derided by the same State most attached to royalty which was meditating the great blow, because, though followed by ejaculations about peace, it was producing instead of peace mad armaments and a succession of warlike conflicts such as had never been seen in the past.

And yet, to understand all the absurdity of obligatory arbitration, it would have been enough for its supporters to have reflected upon these facts. The life of individuals organised in a community or Nation does not certainly develop through gun shots, yet neither does it develop in peace, but through

struggle. It develops through conflicts of interests and moral and material, public and private advantages, which are regulated not by possibly deficient or even corrupt arbitrators, but by strong majorities, which in councils or Parliaments dominate over the incapable. Now, if Nations are but aggregates of individuals, and can but have similar conflicts of interests and of moral and material, public and private advantages, why should they have them regulated by possibly deficient or corruptible arbitrators, rather than by the superior and able men in those Nations, who are able to dictate laws to the small and incapable or decadent ones? If municipal and national life develops amidst struggles in which the individuals strongest in mind, in body and in wealth dominate, and dominate either in groups or in parties, imposing themselves by authority of laws, of judges and of municipal and national police, thus managing their own great interests, *sometimes entrusting to the decision of arbitrators only those of their interests that are so slight* as not to be worth the trouble of insisting upon them with authoritative impositions of law, why should not international life develop in the same way? Why should it become an arbitrary business of arbitrators called to put into execution a few gracious treaties by which the great Nations deigned to assent to the prayers of the small? That which among Nations would be a pacifistic ideal might also become so within Nations and communities. Therefore, no more communal and national struggles ending in the legal domination of the strongest fellow citizens and countrymen! For all communal and national affairs, arbitrators who will provide and give fellow-citizens and countrymen the joy of peacefully living and growing fat, without need of struggling and having laws, judges and police to enforce and to maintain order!

But what would have and would become of all human progress, if it had had to and did depend upon the decisions of irresponsible arbitrators, and of pacifists made factotums of civilisation?

It was, moreover, absurd to pretend that conflicts among States should be decided by obligatory arbitration — especially as it was evident that such a proceeding would have been advantageous for the large States and disadvantageous for the small, fattening the plethoric and making the anaemic lean. Yet this seemed to be the dream of the supporters of obligatory arbitration — the dream of the *Status quo*, so dear to the great decadent Empires, because guaranteeing to their flabby rulers the luxury of remaining forever in their old posts.

It was, briefly, absurd to pretend that conflicts among States could be decided by obligatory arbitration — a solution which leaves untouched the problem of wars, always still eminently possible because of eventual nonfulfilment of arbitration, and obliges the continued precaution of armaments and warlike preparations to go on as before. This doctrine is nothing but a negation of the natural right, belonging to Nations as to individuals, of living and dominating according to their own worth.

It creates a lottery of those interests, including the most sacred, which are not intended to be left at the mercy of arbitrators and for the extreme defence of which man is willing to die. This nonsense of international life contrasting with the common-sense of communal and national life, has done much harm, and has had a large part in this horrible war, by diverting so many honest minds from the positive study of the problem of war and from its true solution, which would have prevented this most horrible catastrophe.

Actually an efficient means for settling controversies of slight importance, arbitration was taken, with ingenuous simplicity, to be at the same time an efficient means for settling controversies of great importance. But no individual, conscious of the dignity of his being, signs a paper on which it is said that, as long as he lives, he will be tied hand and foot and will accept, as an unappealable sentence, the judgment that Mr A

or Mr B. may pass upon any controversy in which he may take part. Similarly, no Nation, not composed of cowardly individuals but of men conscious of the dignity of their being, will consent to be tied hand and foot and sign such a paper. Losing one's life — in war if there is no legal State, and in rebellion or revolution if there is a legal State — may seem to an individual, as to the members of a Nation, an easy and necessary act, when an ideal worthy of being defended even by death is at stake, when an ideal is at stake too great to be left to the judgment of Mr A or Mr B, who if not dishonest and corrupt, may be mentally limited and incapable of understanding the greatness of the ideal.

And how is it that so many minds had confidence in arbitration, which turns out to be really an aberration? We have already explained it. The continuance of royal despotism drew a veil over minds, so that it prevented men in government from resorting to the true remedy for conflicts between States — that of a *legality instituted among them by means of an INTERNATIONAL CONSTITUTION*. Democratic catch-words and the fear of ministerial falls prevented men in government from incurring the tremendous expenses for armaments and regiments that would have been necessary to supersede those of the menacing State. This tremendous expense, nevertheless, had to be incurred at the outbreak of the war. Therefore, as an expedient, there was nothing left but to resort to the herbalists of political remedies, to the sentimentalists of pacifism, namely, to open the field to all the simpletons who, with their childish prattle and sentimental appearance, might, who knows, perhaps succeed in averting the great blow by that State most attached to royalty of a conquering war against the colonising States, while permitting the little blows of their own colonial conquests against colonisable States to go on as conveniently as ever.

But for the folly of arbitration successfully to impose itself it would have been necessary for that State most attached to

royalty not to exist. Even though the decadent States, united against this one, carried the comedy of pacifism to the point of stipulating for reciprocal treaties of obligatory arbitration in all cases of conflict, that one State most attached to royalty, begged with a smile to be excluded from such an agreement, and in the meantime the more cheerfully prepared the great blow.

Obligatory arbitration therefore visibly failed. Then the *third* set of sages came to the rescue. Truth is found in the middle way. This we know. Obligatory arbitration was absurd, if only for the very simple reason that it began to be understood that there was no international authority capable of imposing the execution of arbitrations by force of arms. On the other hand, war was a horrible thing. Therefore, behold another infallible means for conjuring the great blow! Before coming to a declaration of war, States must lend themselves to an attempt at *Conciliation* before an International Court. Naturally, in case the attempt at conciliation failed, States had to continue to be armed in proportion to the arming of their possible foes. And then, followed general commiseration for that most honourable proposal of conciliation! Which, in truth, had the merit of being, not certainly a solution of the war problem, but something from the moral and juridical point of view. It afforded a curb of shame against the rapacities of war.

Not foolish like the political herbalists were the *fourth* class who came to the rescue with the proposal of a *Supreme Court of Justice*, either at the Hague or elsewhere, authorised to decide conflicts between nations. Authorised by whom? By whose dominating force? This fourth class of prophets had the most easy bearing of all. They were persuaded that they could perorate about their discovery without knowing the meaning of the word justice, without needing to know that, as long as the anarchy of independent nationalities lasts, as long as there is lacking an international authority, arising from the Nations, on the basis of

each one's force of domination, legislating over them, and coercing them, in what concerns international affairs, as long as, briefly, laws and militia of international domination are lacking, there must inevitably be lacking the International Law on the basis of which a Supreme Court of Justice can exist and decide. So that its decisions upon the conflict of Nations which might have consented to submit themselves to its judgments, would have had no other value than that of arbitrations. And naturally, the State most attached to royalty had laughed to ridicule the idea of the authority of such a Supreme Court of Justice.

There was another apparently sure means of averting the great blow, and with some pretence to statistical science, there presented themselves those illuded by the notion of having discovered a *great illusion*, those illuding themselves that they had discovered that wars, which are thought useful, are really useless. This was the new and true saving thought. But it did not take into account that wars are necessary and inevitable as long as Nations remain independent, namely, in the non State of anarchy, lacking the legality and the possibility of their members having foreign relations and affairs with ordered and proportioned domination like that by which they have internal relations and affairs. It forgot that armaments are necessary, not only in case of such necessary wars, but as a means of parading intellectual, physical and financial forces to which States can resort for their moral and material domination during the still continuing foreign anarchy and commercial interdependence, even as displays and small parades of intelligence, of physical strength and of money are useful to individuals as ways of dominating morally and materially in despotic or falsely constitutional social interdependence.

This new illusory doctrine of illusion took into account only the small wars waged on an equal footing, not the great unequal and ferocious wars. To have had these in mind would have made it clear that these

wars end, not in interdependence, but in the iron domination of one people over another, in the dependence of one people upon another. This conquering people, subjecting everything and everybody, inflating itself with wealth and power, becomes great as, through the centuries, the successive great Empires with their various civilisations and races became great, and so remained until the day of their decadence.

This doctrine of the illusion of war was born of the illusion that in the present condition of so-called international civilisation, public opinion in the Nations has arrived at the point of thinking war useless. We have seen how nearly it had come to that point. But, even if public opinion in the Nations had arrived at thinking that, in present conditions of so-called international civilisation, war was useless, it would have had no greater importance than the other public opinion which holds thieves guilty in the present arrangement of national civilisation. In the same way as public opinion is contrary to thieves, and notwithstanding that the national police is charged with arresting them, every cautious man guards against possible thefts or worse that may happen to him, and begins by locking the door of his house — so, notwithstanding the fact that public opinion is contrary to war, and the more so because there is no international police charged with preventing it, every cautious Nation would have continued to guard itself against possible wars by bringing the largest possible armaments to the frontier. So the problem would have remained unsolved and the harm derived from increase of armaments would have been permanent.

But this is not all. One should not consider only present conditions of so-called international civilisation to conclude that war is useless. Nothing in the world is stable. Civilised conditions can change all of a sudden for the worse because of moral or material causes — let us suppose among these a famine or other scourge. In such a case diplomatic relations would vanish as by enchantment, even as in a wreck or a fire re-

lations of courtesy vanish, with few exceptions, which just because of their exceptionality, constitute heroisms. In such a case, present international diplomatic and commercial relations would retrogress towards those of brutal struggle. Consequent wars would be as ferocious as formerly. And from such wars the least pacifistic Nations would survive — those that had been most careful to remain strong, those able to utilise compellingly, against the other Nations, their greater force of mind, of arms and of money. This might possibly happen to-morrow, were the INTERNATIONAL CONSTITUTION not yet made, for it alone could enable the voice of altruism to be heard, in the INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY, and act as an authoritative curb.

The new discovery of a great illusion ended, as it was bound to, in a miserable delusion. And then, to the rescue came the *sixth* class perorating about another infallible way of averting the great blow, that of the *United States of Europe, of the European Federation, of the Federation of the World*. But federations could no longer be treated lightly, as in the past when they could come about among collectivities having fewer opposed or more common interests and able to refuse to federate or *voluntarily* to consent to federate, on the basis of having *one or two representatives* for every Canton or State, whether large or small, or on the basis of having *representatives in proportion to the population only*, namely, to only one of the elements of force which give the authority of government. The federal system, thus conceived and carried out — as best it could be in the passing from the ferocious repressions of despotic government to the democratic equalitarian liberty of representative government — was doubtless better than the imperial system, but it was absurd all the same. Because it is not policy to desire a State whose members can, as they please, either make part of it and be disciplined or stay out and be dangerous. To understand what would spring from an International State where Nations would have this right to federal entry, one need but imagine what

would spring from a City State or Nation State if fellow citizens or countrymen were allowed either to stay in and be disciplined or to stay out and be aggressive. There would spring from it the negation of the State, namely anarchy. Neither is it serious to propose an international Federal Assembly where the Nations should have but one or two representatives each — two Greek representatives in little skirts and two German representatives in spiked helmets — where the will of Greece should be worth the same as that of Germany, the will of England as that of Montenegro, the will of the United States as that of Switzerland, the will of Russia as that of Holland, the will of France as that of Belgium. Neither is it serious to propose an International Federal Assembly where England should have more votes than Montenegro in proportion to its population, where the United States should have more votes than Greece in proportion to its population, and thus Germany more votes than Switzerland, France more votes than Spain. In such case, look out for China! Population is but one of the coefficients of a Nation's power, even as muscular force is but one of the coefficients of an individual's power. In fact, to succeed in war, it is not enough to have many soldiers; one must also have great intelligence to discipline and lead them, and large financial reserves to nourish, clothe and arm them.

Given that life is not peace but struggle, a struggle disciplined by the domination of the strongest and thus become a better means towards life's aim; given that Nations are aggregates of individuals and can but have similar conflicts of interests and of moral and material, public and private advantages — it is evident that the longed-for union of Nations is absurd without a scientific constitutional basis for compulsion and for the recognition of every Nation's right to have a voice and power in the Interstate Union equal to that which it would employ first by its diplomatic influence, then on the battlefield. Voluntary federation on a footing of equality could subsist among States having

more or less the same foreign interests. Among States having opposite foreign interests it is an absurdity. Understood, moreover, from a narrow point of view, as the United States of Europe, it sounds menacing to American or Asiatic ears and would lead to continual wars. So that neither did the upholders of the United States of Europe, European Federation, World Federation, with their superficial arguments about voluntariness and parity, succeed in averting the great blow.

And still less did the seventh class succeed in averting it. As an infallible means they suggested *nationality according to natural boundaries* (those established by God, together with Kings, founders of conquered races, together with professors of ancient history and geography) *disarmament and the armed Nation*, that is to say, a gun, even an old model, hung over the bed of every citizen. No more than that. If the menacing State had absolutely desired not to submit to nationalities thus established but to attack them, it was at full liberty to do so. The citizens would have resorted even to stones to crush its militia. And that one State, which had secretly kept its 420 mm guns and had smiled or laughed at all the other proposals thinking of this one, softly sighing, murmured — « Ah ! Would to God ! How much finer the blow ! »

Thus all the superficial exponents of pacifism, not succeeding in their absurdities, succeeded collectively however in something quite different — that is to say :

1) they succeeded in bringing the Chaotic Period to a climax ;

2) they succeeded in getting fabulous sums from philanthropists, whom they led to believe that they could end the scourge of war, while actually the former, with the help they gave to the propaganda of pacifistic errors, made it continue and become nutriment for a new bureaucracy — the pacifistic bureaucracy, incapable of understanding the whole complexity of the war problem, stub-

born in the propaganda of peace, which we know is but a pause in war, supporters only of those ideas and initiatives that, entering into their shortsighted view of the war problem, offered new resources for the everlasting and profitable peace propaganda ;

3) succeeded in leading astray those who would have liked to study the war problem honestly ;

4) succeeded in stifling, with more love for pacifistic compromises than for the victims of war, the positive voice that as against their pacifistic nonsense called for the legality of an INTERNATIONAL CONSTITUTION, on the basis of the Nations' several forces of domination, as the only means of conjuring the destined outbreak of the most horrible of wars ;

5) shared, therefore, the responsibility for the most horrible of wars.

CONFUSED MEANING OF POLITICAL WORDS.

Dizzying progress was made by all the sciences except that of government. And in the meantime — in the midst of marvellous speeches and writings in every branch of learning — the speeches and writings of the highest as of the smallest political men were either stupid, or deceitful. The most illustrious statesmen and journalists even as the most obscure electoral agent, continually used in their speeches and writings the words right, justice and authority, liberty and independence, what was State, what Nation, but, if taken by the coat tail and forced to say what was right, what justice and what authority, what was liberty and what independence, what was State, what Nation, what Fatherland, would mutter, wriggle, release themselves, try to change the subject and go away.

Dizzying progress was reached by all the sciences, except that of government. And in the meantime, while material life, because of the enormous development of industry, attained a fantastic wealth of delicious com-

forts and a satanic evil of adulterations and armaments, moral life fell into desolating discomfort, partly produced by chaotic ideas and practices of government, but mostly by the general irreligious scepticism which the same dizzying progress had caused — a) by the discovery of immense new real facts, because of which medicine had risen to being a supreme science, b) by giving colossal new ideas about the philosophy of things contrasting with the old church teachings, by the side of which the latter appeared gross deceit or error.

This general irreligious scepticism, as we know, could not but be connected with a general unchaining of all individual egotisms and with decadence. But this time there arose, moreover, the greater *hypocrisy* with which the unchaining of individual egotisms occurred — an hypocrisy determined by the fact that the now decadent and sceptical religion had, as no other, been born of precepts of neighbourly love, namely, that its believers should love and treat their neighbours as themselves — an hypocrisy determined by the fact that these precepts, which still continued to have their place in the ejaculation of worship and in moral preachings, sounded the condemnation of the individual selfishness that the general irreligious scepticism could but produce.

And in the meantime, the Chaotic Period closed with the phenomenon of general decadence. This, while in its essence it was less than that of the old despotic Empires, because diminished by the partial cure of the State sore, brought about by National Con-

stitutions almost everywhere adopted — in form was actually worse, because of the accompanying State and moral hypocrisies. Briefly, the frenzied collisions of starving and luxurious struggles for existence, big and little parades of force, cunning, lies, disloyalty, fraud, overbearing, cowardliness, disputes, extortions, pride, superficiality, meanness, slanders, discords, chauvinism, personal interests preponderating over those of the Fatherland: all these evils of decadence certainly turned men and women into so many little tubes of malice. These evils made men and women so many deceivers of God in whom they no longer believed and of their neighbours whom they no longer loved, but made these same men and women susceptible to the betterment which National Constitutions had produced by partially healing the internal State sore, and made them therefore ready to rise concordantly, when a grave danger of war, menacing the Fatherland, threatened to compromise the pride of nascent dignity and greatness which National Constitutions had awakened and which, because of revival of the old habits of imperial corruption, in the general irreligious scepticism, had remained depressed.

Thus, as climax, the Chaotic Period closed in the blood of the most horrible of wars — a war which, centuries before, had been marked out on the first day when the grim and rapacious, sanguinary and obscene man, the King, had made it inevitable by urging that National Constitutions should, at least in appearance, preserve to royal power its old authority.

PART II

LEGAL ARGUMENT AND CONCLUSION

SCHEMA.

TAKEN FROM UMANO'S WORK OF POSITIVE SCIENCE OF GOVERNMENT, WHICH IS SYNTHESIZED IN THE APPEARANCE, THE PROCESS AND THE CURE
 OF THE TWO STATE SORES — THE EXTERNAL SORE, CONSISTING IN THE BARBARISM OF ANARCHY ABROAD AND IN THE CONSEQUENT NECESSITY
 OF FOREIGN WARS — THE INTERNAL SORE, CONSISTING IN THE ARBITRARINESS OF DESPOTISM IN THE INTERIOR
 AND IN THE CONSEQUENT NECESSITY OF INTERNAL TYRANNIES

EXPLANATION OF THE SCHEMA

1-2 From the barbarism of individuals in the non-State of anarchical independences among themselves — to the primitive civilisation of these individuals here and there legally organised into Tribe States.

The external sore is already reduced by as much of the Earth's surface as has passed from inter-individual anarchy into tribal legality. The internal sore has formed but is not yet apparent.

3-4 From the barbarism of Tribes in the non-State of anarchical independences among themselves — to the amplified civilisation of these Tribes here and there legally organised into City States.

The external sore is reduced by as much more of the Earth's surface as has passed from inter-tribal anarchy into civic legality. The internal sore is already darkly apparent.

5-6 From the barbarism of Cities in the non-State of anarchical independences among themselves — to the more amplified civilisation of these Cities here and there legally organised into Kingdom States.

The external sore is reduced by as much more of the Earth's surface as has passed from inter-civic anarchy into royal legality. The internal sore has deepened and darkened.

7-8 From the barbarism of Kingdoms in the non-State of anarchical independences among themselves — to the still more ample civilisation of these Kingdoms here and there legally organised into Empire States.

The external sore is reduced by as much more of the Earth's surface as has passed from inter-royal anarchy into imperial legality. The internal sore has deepened and darkened still more.

9-10 From the barbarism of Empires and Kingdoms in the non-State of anarchical independences among themselves — to the decadence of some of these Empires and of their civilisations and races.

The external sore stays unchanged. The internal sore has rottenly and blackly deepened in the decadent Empires.

11-12 From the barbarism of decayed and partly dismembered Empires and of those empirically transformed into false Nations, which all together are among themselves in the non-State of anarchical independences — to the highest civilisation of such false Nations and surviving Empires, turned, by means of the International Constitution, into so many true Nations legally organised into one International State.

The external sore has disappeared from the Earth, which has passed from international anarchy to international legality. The internal sore, which, because of empirical mitigation of despotism, had already grown lighter and better in the false nations, has also gradually disappeared.

CHAPTER I.

THE LIGHT OF SCIENCE.

The conduct of the belligerent Nations confirmed the fact that, in the state of general barbarism in which politics found themselves, an International Scientific Conference imposed itself as the best and most urgent way of giving positive foundations to the Science of Government and of destroying once for all the first and most harmful of the remains of barbarism, the octopus of royal despotism, that still possessed such strong tentacles of which it made constant use.

The mental darkening produced by the Chaotic Period persisted with such intensity, however, that most people did not understand in what could consist the positive foundations of the Science of Government that such a Conference might have brought to light or of what use they could be. All those who whether cultured or uncultured, spoke about war in the pitiable way we saw in the last chapter — had never felt the need of knowing in a positive and scientific way, that is, in a very different way from that used in schools or churches, a few principles, a few fundamental ideas about politics. Neither could they make out the objection that it was absurd to speak of war, or of politics in general, except on the basis of these. Nor yet were they persuaded when, asked to admit that war is an illness of the social body just as palpitations are an illness of the human body, they were faced with these enquiries.

Can one speak of heart disease without knowing definitely what the heart is? Can one speak of a disease of the liver without knowing what the liver is? Can one speak of pneumonia without knowing what are the lungs? And if this is impossible, why should it be possible to speak of nationality without knowing definitely what the Nation is? Why should it be possible to speak of international right and justice without knowing clearly what are right and justice? Why should it be possible to speak of authority, legality, liberty, without knowing in what one and the other consist?

To say, while the war went on, that it would be well to think of scientific research as a means by which war could be abolished, in order to have a worthy means of solving the present war, seemed like saying that the generals, dealers and assisting doctors should stop warring and do this scientific work themselves. It was not understood that it should be the impartial and holy task of a few new minds, carrying on their humane work of study simultaneously with the patriotic work of fighting carried on by generals, dealers and assisting doctors.

Understanding that it is foolish to speak of a body's illness without knowing the structure and function of the organ that produces it, Morgagni, the founder of pathological anatomy, published his work *DE CASUS ET SEDIBUS MORBORUM PER ANATOMEN INDA-*

GATIS, and therewith created a revolution. He overthrew empirical medicine. Created scientific medicine. And medicine, proceeding from positive anatomical research and bases, was able to rise to the height it has attained.

That which Morgagni's work did for medicine, this work intends to do for politics — revolutionise them. Overthrow empirical politics. Create scientific politics. For it is foolish to try to speak of war or of any other government evil, outside of party ideas and party programmes, without knowing the structure and functions of the government organs through which the evil is produced.

As no Scientific Conference — in spite of its urgency — has yet been called, and even though a scientific treatment of the subject seems the only radical and efficient remedy for the evil, we were led to the belief that it was better to try audaciously, even with only personal observations, inspirations and perceptions, to construct a Positive Science of Government. Thus comes about the publication of this work, which has many points in common with the very different one published by Morgagni over a hundred years ago.

The analogy is fascinating and convincing, because of the fact that, in treating this work, the two State sores productive of all governmental evils are disclosed, — the external sore, consisting in the barbarism of anarchy abroad and in the consequent necessity of foreign wars — and the internal sore, consisting in the arbitrariness of despotism in the interior and in the consequent necessity of internal tyrannies. Two sores in which this whole work is synthesized, as can be clearly seen in the fascinating and convincing chart here inserted. In relation to it the title of this book might be changed by the addition of a sub-title, thus — POSITIVE SCIENCE OF GOVERNMENT, OR ANATOMY OF THE STATE ORGAN AND FUNCTION, ON THE BASIS OF WHICH THE VARIOUS POLITICAL PARTIES CAN MAKE IN A POSITIVE WAY THEIR VARIOUS DIAG-

NOSES AND CURES OF THEIR SOCIAL EVILS, AMONG WHICH IS WAR. And in this case, the several parts of the work should be thus considered — the following Positive Foundations of the Science of Government are the nerves of the State organism — the Positive Inferences of the Science of Government are its muscles — the Generic Historical Facts, from which the Positive Foundations and the Positive Inferences of the Science of Government were deduced, are its nervous and muscular functions — the Empirical and Greatest of Historical Facts: National Constitutions, through whose changes the Positive Science of Government and State perfection are reached, are its connective and cutaneous system, which forms through changes and gives it functional form and perfection.

But from analogy to analogy also another fascinating and convincing though more distant analogy can be reached, and that is, that this work of Positive Science is also a radical, efficient and urgent remedy. During the Chaotic Period, the shameful governmental stupidity was not only kept up by false school, church and art teachings, but also by false book, newspaper and party teachings: so that, from infancy to death, everything and everybody was caught in a net of falsehood. The Earth, in spite of its magnitude, lacked a locality where people could unite for the research of positive, unpartisan ideas of government. Every association, club and institution was bound to the ideas of this or that political party. And the men and women who belonged to them — whether from vain pride and fear of having to admit their ideas to be false, whether from a tired wish not to have their way of thinking disturbed, whether from interest in the party aims and ambitions of the association, club or institution to which they were bound — would not tolerate that within their walls researches for and affirmations of truth should be made, even if scientific, contrary to their politics. Even scientific Congresses, so proud of their sacred mission — that of defending and promoting free scientific research — while they extended their

activity over all knowable fields, took good care not to institute a Positive Political Science section, and this because of prudence, for their promoters were afraid of compromising royal prerogatives and were anxious not to be given government preoccupations but rather to receive from it favours of chairs or honours or gratifications or of all these together. Briefly, in order to know something true about politics, it would have been necessary to begin by building a locality — where lies and falsehoods, comedies and stupidities would have been forbidden — where people could have gathered to speak seriously about war as about any other political fact of the day. And here enters the other more distant yet fascinating and convincing analogy that this work of the Positive Science of Government is also a radical, efficient and urgent remedy. The construction of this work is comparable to the construction of a locality for serious political discussions. So that the title of this work might also be changed by the addition of another subtitle thus: POSITIVE SCIENCE OF GOVERNMENT, OR ANATOMY OF THE STATE ORGANISM AND FUNCTION, ON THE BASIS

OF WHICH THE VARIOUS POLITICAL PARTIES CAN MAKE IN A POSITIVE WAY THEIR VARIOUS DIAGNOSES AND CURES OF THEIR SOCIAL EVILS, AMONG WHICH IS WAR, OR, CONSTRUCTION OF A LOCALITY FOR SERIOUS POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS. And in the case of this other analogy, the several parts of this work should be considered thus — the Positive Foundations of the Science of Government are the locality's foundation stones — the Positive Inferences of the Science of Government are its columns — the Generic Historical Facts, from which the Positive Foundations and the Positive Inferences of the Science of Government were deduced, are the fundamental functions supporting its foundation stones and columns — the Empirical and Greatest of Historical Facts: National Constitutions, through whose changes the positive Science of Government and State perfection are reached, are the system of walls and rafters that through their connections give form, consistency and functional perfection to the locality, namely, give the possibility of speaking neither lies and stupidities there, nor yet of playing comedies, but of worthily holding serious political discussions.

CHAPTER II.

FOUNDATIONS OF A POSITIVE SCIENCE OF GOVERNMENT DEDUCED FROM THE GENERIC HISTORICAL FACTS.

Thus, from the historic and progressive facts of government generally, which — beginning with those of Tribes and including those of imperial decadence — we have been grouping with sincere observation and reflection, there emerge the following five Positive Foundations of Government and five Positive Inferences of Government.

The Positive Foundations of Government finally make concrete, in precise and concise ideas, the conceptions which every man and every woman, whatever be the class, party or faith to which they belong, must have;

1) about the three forces of mind, of body and of wealth, with the use and increase of which everybody seeks to dominate in sexual, family, religious, professional, trade, artistic, commercial and social life, in order to live more securely and more according to his own will, whether egotistic and maleficent or altruistic and beneficent;

2) about the struggle for existence, which among men is barbarous as long as they — being in the non-State of anarchical liberty and independence — must keep themselves as much armed as possible, and live a life which is a series of deceits, trickeries, homicides and wars, interrupted by brief intervals of insecure peace;

3) about the passing from this non-State of warlike anarchy to the State of gov-

ernment, through the process of multiple domination, which — occurring arbitrarily tending to despotism, — implying the tyranny of slavery, of tribute, of suppressed liberty in thought, speech and action and of scientific and religious mental obscurantism, brought about by State schools and churches — nevertheless produces among rulers and ruled a relative civilisation of laws containing rights and duties;

4) about justice, injustice and pardon, about equity and iniquity which are not what they are thought to be;

5) about the pentologue of legality.

I.

THE THREE HUMAN FORCES, OF MIND, OF BODY AND OF WEALTH.

Every man or woman has;

1) *a force of mind*, by which he or she can think, have cognition and persuade with greater or less ability;

2) *a force of body* — divided into,
a) force of attraction, b) force of agility,
c) force of pressure — by which he or she can attract, act or constrain with greater or less efficacy;

3) *a force of wealth*: either in material conserved and useful to life, or in an equiv-

alent sum of money — by which, *a*) he or she can think, know, persuade, attract, act and constrain with greater ease, with greater resources and consequently with greater ability and efficacy, *a*) by which he or she can use the forces of others, namely, pay more or less and induce others to think, know, persuade, attract, act and constrain more or less for him or her: since the others, strengthened by the things or money received in payment, will then be better able to think, know, persuade, attract, act and constrain.

Every man or woman more or less consciously uses these three forces of mind, of body and of wealth, to increase them and make them prevail over those which, in conflict, are used by other men and women. Because it is by the use, the increase and the successful operation of these three forces, that a man or woman can;

1) have more or less sexual, family, professional, trade, artistic, commercial or social domination over other men and women, that is to say, prevail and dominate over them;

2) live more securely;

3) live according to his or her egotistic and maleficent or altruistic and beneficent will.

II.

THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE AMONG MEN IS WORSE THAN THAT AMONG BEASTS. AND IT IS BARBAROUS, AS LONG AS THEY ARE IN ANARCHICAL LIBERTY AND INDEPENDENCE.

This alternate use and clash of forces, which men and women carry on in their desire to prevail, to dominate and to live as most interests and best pleases them, constitutes their *struggle for existence*.

A struggle which is worse than that existing among the beasts, because of the greater forces of thought and of wealth which men and women can employ in it.

Mankind, not limited by the narrow mentality of beasts, cannot restrict itself to an individual and more or less local struggle for existence. It is by nature drawn to aggressions, now individual and *homicidal*, now *collective and warlike*, now *perfidious* and economic, that is, reinforced by money, and therefore likely to be more deadly.

This struggle, moreover, is absolutely *barbarous* as long as it is conducted in anarchy, that is to say, as long as men and women are in *independence and unlimited liberty*. Because the fact of all being independent and unlimitedly free to move and to use their own forces as they best think and please, renders their struggle fiercer on account of the shorter intervals between individual and homicidal, and collective and warlike deceits and aggressions. In this anarchical struggle, there is — no force able to insure against the unforeseen and sudden assault of other forces — no pleasure not disturbed by the imminence of some possible sorrow — no hour of life to be enjoyed in a State of security — no limit to the advantage of being *always better armed* — no time nor leisure to provide for any but the most urgent necessities of life. Independence, conferring unlimited liberty on everybody, reduces it to *little liberty for everybody*; and turns the life of men and women into a series of *deceits, trickeries, homicides and wars*, interrupted by brief intervals of *insecure peace*.

III.

FROM THE NON-STATE OF ANARCHY TO THE STATE OF GOVERNMENT. AUTHORITY, LAW, RIGHTS AND DUTIES, DESPOTISM AND TYRANNY, RULERS AND RULED.

It is to withdraw themselves from this barbarous non-State of anarchy and struggle for existence, that among men and women who have already shown signs of sexual, family, professional, trade, artistic, commercial or social superiority, there arises the need for and occurs the establishment of the State, that is to say, there arises the need of

completing and ensuring their various incipient dominations, by having also *governmental domination, namely, legal domination and governmental authority*, i. e., the faculty of imposing laws to curb and guide the forces of other men and women and thus be better able to live, by their own dominations, according to their own egotistic and maleficent or altruistic and beneficent wills.

And how precisely does this occur?

Through an understanding among those who in collective aggressions, namely, in wars, are strongest and dominant. The few men and women who are strongest in wars, namely, better endowed with one or another of those three forces or with all of them and are capable of dominating, come to an agreement, through a *process of multiple domination* — to abolish independence and limit liberty — to organise themselves and subject others, that is, to render subject — to constitute themselves as authority of State and of government — to oblige one another hierarchically and to oblige the many weaker men and women to use their own forces in moves of a struggle for existence that must take place within prescribed limits.

The many weaker men and women are, briefly, by *force*, constrained by the few strongest to have done with independence and to curtail their unlimited liberty according to a few rules, *a*) which in part constitute their *duties* — duties correlative to the *rights* assumed by the rulers, *b*) which in part constitute their *rights* — rights conceded them by the rulers, either because of altruistic regard for them, or because of a consideration of forces that it is as well to conciliate — rights correlative to the duties which the rulers have assumed, *c*) which together form the laws of common life. From wars, and by a process of multiple domination, among men and women there thus arises the authority, the State, the government. And the *barbarism of anarchy ceases. And the struggle for existence, which was absolutely barbarous, begins to be civilised. And civilisation begins.*

But the progress of multiple domination of the few rulers must be more particularly explained.

One, who in wars dominates *strongly* by means of one of those three forces or by all, imposes himself upon the few who in wars dominate *less strongly*, by means of one of those forces or by all, and, a little by fair means and a little by foul, proposes to them the following;

1) to struggle in common against the many who are inferior in war, in order to subject them to his and their authority, and thus curb and guide their forces; to reduce their liberty of action and render them *inoffensive*; to render them also *useful, by service or tribute* and by eventual possible *sacrifice of life* for the requirements of the exercise of their authority;

2) to recognise him, the propounder of the plan, as *first authority*, and in turn, for the same end and in his name, to impose themselves as *second authorities* over the other few who in wars dominate *a little* and over the many who are inferior to them in war.

Or these few, who in wars dominate *less strongly* and who have adhered to the invitation in the name of the Head, each one, as *second authority*, imposes himself upon the few others who in wars dominate *a little*, and, partly by fair means and partly by foul, proposes:

1) to struggle in common against the many who are inferior in wars, in order to subject them to the authority of the Chief as well as to their own, and thus curb and guide their forces;

2) to recognise the Head or Chief as *first authority* and themselves as *second authorities*, and in turn, for the same end, in the name of the Head, to impose themselves as *third authorities* over the few others who in wars dominate *less* and over the many who are inferior in them.

These other few, who in wars dominate *a little* accept the invitation, and in the name of the Head, and each one as *third authority*, act in the same way towards the other few who in wars dominate *less*.

This process of multiple domination is, truly, *positive, but only in part* and therefore *not wholly scientific*. It is only partially positive, because it is certainly based on the victorious results of war, namely on the value of the forces employed in and arisen from war, yet is so based in an *arbitrary way, that is, without regard* to the forces that were not but could have been employed in war. And because thus only partially positive and therefore only partially scientific, such process constitutes *despotism* and makes the first government *a despotic government*.

Nevertheless, it is by such proceedings that the first government can rise out of anarchy. It is thus that, according to the need, the number of the few strong rulers capable of subjecting the many weak *ruled* increases more or less and that the submission and the *subjection* of the many governed comes about.

This despotic subjection of the ruled who are now converted into *subjects*, must, however, also be more particularly explained.

The imposition of the strongest rulers over the inferior rulers and over the ruled succeeds because;

1) it is initiated by despotism, i. e., by the process of multiple domination, which we know occurred in an arbitrary way;

2) it is accompanied by *disarmament, protection and penalty*, that is, by: a) obligation on the part of the governed to *give up arms* which are not permitted, because leaving arms in the hands of the ruled facilitates their struggle against the rulers, b) defence of the rights of the ruled against anyone whether ruler or ruled, who seeks to leave the permitted ways of struggle for existence, so

as to offend and disturb the rights upon which rulers and ruled have regulated their own existence and property, c) infliction of suffering or death upon whomsoever disobeys;

3) it is pursued through these means of *tyranny* — a) service of the inferior ruled made slaves, that is, reduced to forced *military or labouring work* and to *eventual possible sacrifice of life*, b) *tribute* from the superior ruled rendered *free*, that is, permitted to carry on professional, trade, artistic or commercial *free work*, and *taxed*, c) *suppression of liberty*, for all, in thought, speech and act capable — of letting loose the forces of mind, body and wealth either of the inferior rulers or of the ruled — of deflecting such forces from obedience to the laws — of favouring inferior rulers and ruled in *revolutionary tendencies*, that is, in tendencies to overthrow the rulers and their laws, to dominate and to impose themselves, with new laws, as rival rulers, d) monopoly of *schools and churches*, charged with teaching precepts of *suffocated science and arranged religion*, that is, charged with thus forming the *morals* of boys and girls who will be future men and women (let us remember that morals means nothing but habitual, customary, way of thinking and acting: a way consequently variable from epoch to epoch) — charged namely, with moulding their brains and accustoming them to think and act as pleases the rulers, so that they may grow disposed to lend their forces of mind, of body and of wealth in favour of the will of the rulers and may become less in need of governmental compulsion, so that, briefly, they may grow naturally disposed to respect the rulers' authority, to obey their laws, to refuse to lend ear and aid to those who would become rival rulers and make other laws and produce other morals.

From all of which emerges the fact that *despotism is not to be confused with tyranny*.

Despotism consists — in the government's being of an arbitrary and not scientific character — in the lack of control of the forces of the individuals who compose the

State — in the uncertainty as to whether those who have risen to power, as despotic rulers, are still really the strongest in the face of whose authority the ruled and the aspirants to power will find it advantageous to remain in subjection.

Tyranny consists — in the capacity of such despotic government, on account of its arbitrary character, to exist only by means of measures giving too great liberty to the rulers and too little liberty to the ruled — in the more or less onerous services and in the more or less grave prohibitions imposed upon the ruled under penalty of suffering or death.

When one perceives this difference, it is easy to understand *that despotic government can be more or less tyrannical*.

But a still more important explanation is necessary, and this is with regard to the disarmament of the ruled. The disarmament of the ruled is the supreme condition for ruling. Rulers alone must have arms (and the inferior must *present* them to the superior), in order to be able with even a small show of force to compel respect for their authority and their laws. In fact, compulsion is easier inasmuch as the arms which remain only in the hands of the few rulers constitute an increase of their bodily force, and the arms taken away from the many ruled constitute a decrease of their bodily force. This is *the only positive way of reducing armaments* that the rulers can effect. When the ruled are not permitted to keep arms — which moreover are less necessary to them since the cessation of the anarchy which, for everybody's defence and offence, once rendered the greatest possible number of weapons indispensable — it is evident that few arms in the hands of the rulers, held with hierarchical obligation of presenting them, suffice to render the mass of the ruled obedient.

This mass, half reluctantly, half willingly, submits to such impositions of government, because it knows that it is losing the unlimited use of its forces of mind, body and wealth, and looks enviously upon the large

part of these things going into the hands of the rulers, who, with despotic arbitrariness, have taken them for themselves; but, on the other hand, it understands that in issuing from the non-State of anarchy, it has acquired greater potentiality. It loses the independence and unlimited liberty which it had, and which — because of the inherent series of deceits, trickeries, homicides and wars — was, unconsciously to itself, reduced to a very limited liberty; but in exchange it acquires securely the little liberty allowed and protected by law. In exchange for the duties to which it is constrained, it acquires securely certain rights which it did not have at first.

A mass of ruled begins by being a *herd*; and remains such as long as its government is pastorally despotic. It then degenerates into a *mob*, according as the despotic government degenerates. Finally it becomes a *people*, according as its intellectual development — promoted by the aspirants to government for altruistic or selfish ends, but promoted with the support of the same mass's forces — leads it to develop better its forces of mind, of body and of wealth, to organise itself, to reduce tyranny, to extend liberty, to become less in subjection, to abolish despotism and to regenerate government.

A mass which, as long as it is not a people, is colourless, formless, ignorant, obtuse, cunning, childish, impulsive, dissembling, sordid, generous, awkward, incoherent, fun-loving, snarling, chattering, grumbling, and patiently lends itself to the impositions of government, which it obeys, now for its own advantage, now from laziness and now from fear. But this mass, nevertheless, always possesses its latent forces and uses these now for asking, now for menacing, now for disobeying, now for insurrecting by the following graduated and gradual means of resistance: — *claims, petitions, adverse propaganda, demonstrations, insult, damaging revenge, injurious revenge, mortal revenge, rebellions and revolutions*. And using these its forces and these its means of resistance, it compels the rulers not to abuse its patience.

This mass stands between the rulers in power, on the one hand, and the aspirants to power on the other, who consist of — a) those subordinated rulers who ill tolerate the authority of their superiors and aspire to exercising it, having a despotic *proud consciousness or a despotic vain pretension* themselves to possess the greatest force of mind, of body and of wealth, and who desire strongly to become rulers themselves by means of a brilliant career, without waiting their turn or time. The mass of the ruled, being thus in the middle of these two classes of persons, spies upon both and bends its enormous weight, now towards one and now towards the other, according to the illusory or obvious advantage held out to it. And thus registering the actions of the rulers and alternating the current of its own influence, it operates along with the factions of the two classes of rulers to the end that so-called politics can exist. For politics are precisely this opposition and compromise which the rulers in power, the rulers in aspiration and the mass of the ruled together make of their own forces of mind, of body and of wealth, for these aims: — a) for increasing and making them prevail, b) for curbing and guiding more or less the forces of others, or for withdrawing their own forces as far as possible from such restraints, c) for having more domination or undergoing less, d) for living more securely, e) for living more according to their own egotistic and maleficent or altruistic and beneficent wills.

The mass of the ruled, from fear or from laziness, inclines more towards the rulers in power, and less towards the selfish aspirants to power and still less towards the altruistic aspirants to power. These last, sincerely anxious to help the mass and unwilling to deceive it, speak to it in terms of crude truth, nor do they deceive it as do the selfish aspirants to power with their exaggerated promises of greater rights and fewer duties. And even though thus inclining less towards the aspirants to power, it obtains successive advantages. Because the selfish aspirants to power — if successful in their attempt for power, must in part maintain the promises

made — if defeated, they cause the rulers who remain in power, in order not to fall, to concede within a little while some part of what was promised by the aspirants to their places. The mass, therefore, out of fear or out of laziness, inclines generally more towards the rulers in power. But these can count upon its lazy and timorous faithfulness, upon these three conditions —

1) if they are egotists, on condition that they repress the intellectual development of the mass and aggravate their own tyrannical deprivation of liberty of thought, speech and act;

2) if they are altruists, or if they are shrewd egotists — who perceive the intellectual development of the mass in spite of repressions — on condition of promoting the intellectual development of the mass and of alleviating their own tyrannical deprivation of liberty of thought, speech and act;

3) whether they are egotists or altruists, on condition that their laws — a) are not too iniquitous, in regard to *work*, whether forced and badly remunerated, or free and too highly taxed, b) are applied with *justice*, that is, with scrupulousness, i. e., without violation of the rights, however slight, and without aggravation of the duties, however burdensome, in consideration of which the ruled have subjected themselves, on the basis of which they have regulated their life and by the force of which they feel their life secure, no matter how maimed and miserable this may be. And it is by adhering to this double third condition that the rulers suffer the slight deprivation of liberty and independence which they must nevertheless submit to, in consideration of the many deprivations of liberty and independence to which they oblige the ruled to submit.

IV.

JUSTICE, INJUSTICE AND PARDON.

THE VALUE OF AGREEMENTS.

The application, therefore, of the rights and duties prescribed in the laws — if scru-

ETUDE POUR LA FAÇADE DE LA HAUTE COUR DE JUSTICE

pulously carried out, constitutes *justice* — if unscrupulously carried out, constitutes *injustice*. The iniquity or equity, namely, the badness or goodness of laws, has, therefore, nothing to do with their justice or injustice. As the law may be bad today and good tomorrow, or viceversa, according to the badness or goodness of the men and women who, being in government, create iniquitous or equitable rights and duties and make iniquitous or equitable laws — so justice can today be bad and tomorrow good, or viceversa, according to the iniquitous badness or the equitable goodness of the rights and duties contained in the laws. That which is absolutely necessary, in order that the State may exist, is that justice shall function; that justice, whether good or bad, according to the equity or iniquity of the laws, shall be *scrupulously, publicly and punctually rendered*.

An iniquitous law, until it is abolished, must be so applied. Indeed, such application is the best way to rouse against it the anger of the mass or the agitation of those who aspire to rule, and to induce the rulers to abolish it. A judge, who for reasons of equity did not apply or distorted such a law, would, besides being unjust, be even iniquitous. He would mitigate the irritation necessary for its abolition, and would leave other subjects in the possibility of having it applied by judges less compassionate and less inclined to equitable excuses or mitigations. Against too harsh a justice there is the remedy of *pardon, which is particular declared injustice*, that is, a particular and declared inapplication of the law, willed by the government itself, through particular statements of law and for the government's convenience.

Briefly, law, until it is abolished, must be sacred. There can be no authority, no State, no government, if security is lacking regarding the enforced application of laws. And for this reason, and only in this sense, is justice the basis of every government. And for this reason the Palace of Justice as presented in the plans of the World City, is

logically conceived as being even more majestic than the Legislative Palace; for law, which in its prescriptions is perishable and subject to the changing will of legislators, must remain firm and sovereign in its application.

In a Palace of Justice occupying the place of greatest prominence in a Centre where are gathered the world's chief interests, a just application of existing laws can bring clearly to the minds of all peoples a knowledge of the equity, iniquity or deficiency of these laws. Through the legislative facilities furnished by a World Centre of Communication the people of all nations will be able through their representatives, so to alter existing laws and create new ones as to form a true code of international equity, for the enforcement of which it will depend only upon themselves to create the necessary authority.

Since therefore law, as we have said, until it is abolished must be sacred, it is in this sense that the old erroneous precept — *law is equal for all* — is to be transformed. This precept, badly conceived and badly expressed, as a reaction against despotic perversions, is to be transformed thus — *respect for law is equal for all*. Thus the precept clearly means that a law, until repealed, must be respected by whomsoever has a duty prescribed in it, corresponding to the relative right of another. In the old erroneous expression, the precept dimmed the essence of law, which is impository by the domination of some over others. It sounded — as if law were productive of equal effects, namely, of equal rights and duties for everybody — as if the respect of a law which one has imposed were the same as the respect of a law which has been imposed upon one — as if to respect a law could not be inconvenient and unpleasant for the one upon whom it has been imposed but as convenient and pleasant as it is for the one who has imposed it.

And what about rights and duties born of agreements? What shall we think of the value of agreements?

The value of agreements is effective, if there exists a governmental authority which, dominating over the contracting parties — by law has authorised and regulated such agreements — by law has submitted them to its judicial agents, charged with examining and enforcing them in case of conflict — by law has entrusted them to its militia, charged with having them executed according to judicial decisions and impositions. Therefore the value of agreements is null, if there exists no governmental authority that dominates over the contracting parties.

In short — agreements contracted within a State are valid if they are legally authorised by the State which dominates over the contracting parties — agreements contracted among several States are valid, if they are legally authorised by the Interstate authority which dominates over them — *agreements stipulated by several independent States are null, as are those stipulated by individuals without State, because, since in one case they lack the domination of an Interstate authority and in the other case they lack the domination of a State authority, they lack legal authorisation and consequently value.*

But are not morals equivalent to an obligation for the contracting parties to fulfil their agreements? Moral obligations are regulated in scholastic and ecclesiastical edifices and are of voluntary execution. Legal obligations are regulated in judiciary and military edifices, and are of enforced execution. If it pleases several States to remain in the free and anarchical barbarism of independence in order to be able on occasion to use this, let it also please them to run the risk of the free and anarchical fulfilment or nonfulfilment of the agreements stipulated for in the turbidity of their barbarous independence. But let those States and peoples who are tired of and disgusted with the anarchical uncertainty as to the fulfilment or non-fulfilment of stipulated agree-

ments, unite to create the Centre which will permit them to bring their governments into a legal State such as will protect all countries and people, and facilitate their development and prosperity by those who are capable of bringing order out of anarchical chaos, and maintaining it securely by the authority of all peoples representatively united in a common Centre.

V.

THE PENTALOGUE OF THE POSITIVE FOUNDATIONS OF GOVERNMENT.

These positive foundations of government need a pillar to rivet them. And here it is in this pentologue.

1. There is no *justice*, if there is no scrupulous application of rights and duties.

2. There are no *rights and duties*, if there is no law which has predetermined them.

3. There is no *law*, if there is no authority which has dictated or written it, *making arrogation of rights and imposition of duties, making concession of rights and assumption of duties.*

4. There is no *authority*, if there are no men and women who, have succeeded in imposing themselves as rulers and in compelling other men and women to live as ruled under their laws. Which may be either iniquitous and bad or equitable and good.

5. There is no *equity and goodness* in authorities, in laws, rights, duties and justice — a) if men and women rulers, because of their insensible organic conformation, are still egotists, b) if men and women ruled, because of their insensible or cowardly organic conformation, do not know how to use their forces of mind, of body and of wealth against the rulers to compel them to act with due altruism.

CHAPTER III.

POSITIVE INFERENCES OF GOVERNMENT DERIVED FROM THE POSITIVE FOUNDATIONS OF GOVERNMENT.

The Positive Foundations of this Science of Government have clearly defined the true essence of the *principle of authority*. It was indispensable that this should, before all else, be positively ascertained, in order that the function of government might be finally purged of that satanic notion of *divine right*, which hitherto has defiled it and has constituted the worst of all the outrages perpetrated against God, having sought to make God responsible for all the crimes of government.

These same Positive Foundations of Government have therefore clearly taught us that governmental authority belongs to those who, united in the struggle for existence, are strongest in mind, in body and in wealth — since, on account of these greater united forces, they secure *victorious domination in war*, so, by these same greater united forces, and through the proceeding of multiple domination, they assume legal domination in peace.

The Positive Inferences of Government, derived from these Foundations, finally rivet, with other precise and concise ideas, the complete conceptions which every man and every woman, whatever be the class, party or faith to which they belong, must have —

1) about *liberty and force*, which are the two supreme words of government — about the triple significance which the word force must have, in order not to be ambiguous and erroneous;

2) about *civilisation*, which is a progressive word of progressive government, according to whether this is local only or world-wide, and according to whether, in being local or world-wide, it is less egotistical and less violent, both on the part of rulers in the use they make of their domination, and of the ruled in the use they make of their decalogue;

3) about *war and peace*, which are words of anarchical barbarism and impossible justice in contrast to the words legality and revolution, which are words of governmental civilisation and possible justice;

4) about *Fatherland*, which is the sacred word of government, as long as it is not degenerate and corrupt;

5) pentologue of the Positive Inferences of Government.

I.

LIBERTY AND FORCE ARE THE TWO SUPREME
WORDS OF GOVERNMENT.

These are words which must first of all be understood exactly, if we are to be able to speak seriously of even the slightest political event. If in our time there are still so many political mystifications, meaningless speeches, scribblings and infamies, the reason is largely because humanity has not a

clear idea of the meaning of these two words which therefore remain supremely ambiguous.

Life is movement in struggle. Naturally, therefore, *liberty* must be supremely dear to everybody, in order to be able to move and struggle as seems best and most pleasing. But civilised coexistence is impossible without government, that is, without reduction of liberty for everybody, although this reduction operates very much less for the rulers and very much more for the ruled. Therefore they are wise who aim at *not too much liberty for the rulers and not too little liberty for the ruled, i. e., at much liberty for everybody*, compatibly however with the good functioning of government. And they are unwise who still speak of *national independences* not knowing that they use a foolish phrase — a worn out tool.

As primitive men and their near descendants saved themselves from the unlimited liberty of anarchy, by organising their struggle for existence in a *despotic and tyrannical government*, so their more distant descendants, with greater cerebral superiority, extricated themselves from the too much and too little liberty of despotic and tyrannical government, by organising their struggle for existence into a *constitutional government*, at first not scientific but *empirical, i. e., experimental, and not world-wide but local, only afterwards scientific and world-wide*. That which it is urgent to note here, in confirmation of our assumption, is the existence of certain proportions or relations between classes. For instance where there is either anarchical or tyrannical liberty existing, then the life of the ruled, because of their little liberty is only slightly superior to that of beasts in breeding slavery, and the life of rulers, because of their too much liberty is only slightly superior to that of authoritative insects arrived at the stage of government.

The conditions of States and their governments depend on their relation and degree of liberty, as well as on the following factors — the extent to which the population is

subjected to enforced military service and labour, which render the life of the majority now fatiguing, rationed and guarded, now suppressed, and thus deprived of reason for and possibility of spontaneously developing individual faculties of thought and beauty — the freedom or lack of freedom from vexatious and overtaxed work, which renders the life of the majority breathless, precarious and strangling, and thus deprived of time for self development — the existence or non-existence of governmental or wealthy leisure, which renders the life of a minority parasitical, cruel and full of reason for and time to develop individual faculties of vice rather than of thought, and produces in many of the rich a stupidity equal to that of many of the poor, so that, many of the rich pay for their superfluities at the dear price of vicious stupidity, produced by fatty degeneration, while many of the poor pay for their misery at the dear price of vicious stupidity, produced by rotten degeneration. In proportion to the existence or action of these factors men and women —

1) can be capable of a less insect-like and more human government;

2) can enjoy government scientific rather than empirical, world-wide rather than local;

3) can become always less brutish, always more civilised, always more human.

Liberty, therefore, must be much for everybody, although more for the rulers than for the ruled — that is to say, not the unequally distributed liberty of tyranny, and especially not the unlimited liberty of anarchy. Because this, leaving all men and women independent and unlimitedly free in the exercise of their forces — permits the gross man to rob and to kill, if there is not a stronger one to stop him — permits the dirty little man to allow himself unseemly licence in the street and to infect the air for everybody, if he finds nobody to drive him away — leaves everybody, in fact, without a moment of real liberty and tranquillity, and

subject to the clash of opposing volitions — leaves everybody continually subject, to confusions, disputes, violences, deriving not only from the struggle for existence, but also from simple dissensions inherent to co-existence — renders everybody powerless to rise above the life of beasts, but forever constrained to provide for the urgent requirements of existence amidst continual deceits, offences and defences, without leisure to turn the mind toward superior, vital and pleasant occupations beyond that of the urgent struggle for existence, without possibility to develop individual faculties of thought and beauty in the civilised industries of trade, art, medicine, family and religion.

Thus we have well understood the word liberty. And it is because of having thus well understood it, that we can now examine thoroughly the word force, which is a still more supreme and ambiguous word.

Force is a more supreme word. *Because life is force.* Because coexistence is a conflict of forces, and *government is the ordered domination and predomination of forces.* Because liberty itself is possible inasmuch as there is a greater force capable of guaranteeing it. Because violence, as it is a most important concrete means by which a good and courageous man or woman can prevent another man or woman from committing a bad action — as it is a most important concrete means by which rulers can triumph over anarchy, enforce their laws and inflict the punishments threatened in these against rebels or revolutionists, against the insane or ignorant who attempts to resist — so it is a most important concrete means by which the ruled can rise against and resist the iniquitous laws or the injustices of rulers.

But force of body is not the only one; it is one of the three forces of which men and women dispose and of which both rulers and ruled can but dispose. An authority which does not dispose of the force of thought is absurd, and if it makes a sporadic appearance, soon disappears in derision. An auth-

ority which does not dispose of force of wealth is absurd, and, if it sporadically appears, is soon rendered impotent. An authority which does not dispose of force of body to compel obedience by violence, is inchoate and ridiculous and, if it arises, is soon removed. So soon that, even if it disposes of the other two forces of thought and of money, it will have no time to use them in the fury of the onslaught to which it will be subjected. On the other hand, the ruled who from fear of undergoing the penalties to be inflicted, do not dare to use their forces of mind, of body and of wealth, even with violence, against the iniquities or injustices of governors, deserve to be daily oppressed by these governors and whipped for their amusement. It is for this that, at bottom, governing can be defined as the science of violence employed for the bettering of co-existence, with the assistance, be it understood, of the forces of thought and of wealth without which the violent force of body cannot long function.

Force, therefore, besides being a supreme word, is also an ambiguous word, because till now only the force of the fist which strikes blows or of the firearm which explodes, has been vulgarly thought of as force, to the exclusion of that of the mind which moves bodies, fists and firearms, and that of wealth, which moves minds, bodies, fists and firearms. And yet it would not have been difficult to expose the error in this widespread vulgar opinion. It would have been enough to say: — Remain seated and hold in your hand a hundred dollar bill, saying that in return for it a case must be moved or a rascal thrown out. Your arms and legs will remain placid, but many arms and legs, instead of yours, will at once begin to stir and in a few moments the case and the rascal will be thrown out together. Here your force of money has transformed itself into force of body. Similarly you may be poor and ill, but intelligent, in the midst of foolish people who do not know how to escape a danger. Make a gesture, say a few words, suggest quickly from your intelligence how the danger is to be averted by the use of a little money. Immediately pocketbooks

will open before you, as if you, who are poor and ill, were a colossal brigand who had said, « Your money or your life », and a mingling of arms, legs and bodies will obey your gesture. Here your force of mind, has transformed itself into force of wealth and of body. Finally, you may have but little egotistic force of mind, little force of body and little force of wealth, but an immense altruistic love which shows your firm and heroic intention of sacrificing your life for the suppression of that of a tyrant or evil person. You will see many forces of mind, of accomplices and of means organise themselves enthusiastically about you. You will see as many other trembling forces arrayed as decrees and as spies, as guards and as ammunition organise themselves against you. The tyrant and the guards will not sleep, being under the constant stimulus of fear. Your accomplices and friends will sleep but little, having to prepare the plot and the means of their escape. And you, ingenuous, exhausted, poor, with only the force of your true intellect of love, will have become the hope of some and the terror of others, you will have moved according to your will so many forces of mind, of body and of wealth.

Popular misconception of the word is after all natural, for the swinging of arms and fists are things that can be seen — often felt — so that it was easy for even the most obtuse to recognise that there was force in them. The reflections of the cerebral cellulae, correlative with the received and stored sensorial vibrations, are not seen, neither are the impulses seen that they give to the speaking tongue or to the pugnacious arm.

What is not natural is that the modern man, presumptuous in his intellectuality and culture, should not have created for himself a political science — a science of government founded on the domination and predomination of the forces of mind, of body and of wealth among coexisting peoples.

It is at this we aim, and we can already consider the word force as rehabilitated in its great *triple significance*. That the force of

government has till now often been in more or less unworthy hands, that it is, even now, in the hands of more or less egotistic rulers, is no reason to believe that it will not finally reach the worthy hands of altruistic governors. Nor is it a reason to pronounce the word force with disdain or terror. If we imagine Christ not as redeemer, formulating moral precepts (be it understood of habitual ways of thinking and acting), and with these influencing rulers and ruled; if instead we imagine him as statesman, full of intellect and goodness, but also armed, in one hand with a sack of gold coins, in the other with a machine gun to make goodness prevail over the wickedness of egotistic wretches — we shall feel sympathy and fascination for the word force, and be able to conceive how much better Christian people would have become if such had been the case, instead of remaining as they have done so full of imposture. Therefore enough of prejudices and misconceptions.

Force is the greatest of all words, the word which governs the universe, regulating it in the movement of the stars as of molecules, and regulating it the more beautifully the more its varied and complex forces develop not in independence and unlimited liberty, but in dependence and limited liberty, that is, the order of the domination of the greater over the less. Force is the word which binds the universe. And the universe — just as it falls into disorder when its forces, with their inherent instinct to varyify themselves in the prodigality of life, clash, balanced and equivalent, in temporary independence — so it returns to order only when independence ceases and a new dominance of greater forces, in varied and more or less progressed form, imposes itself with a new beauty over the lesser forces.

To render the force of men and women ever less barbarous and more civilised, to render it ever more beautiful, there is nothing better therefore than to give it a scientific state. It is at this we aim. It is at this that together we must arrive in the disorder and from the disorder of the present war.

II.

CIVILISATION IS A PROGRESSIVE WORD
OF PROGRESSIVE GOVERNMENT.

Civilisation, we know in fact, begins with the passing from anarchy to government — from anarchy which renders men and women's *struggle for existence barbarous*, to government which renders it *organised*, that is, brought within prescribed limits and ways, and therefore not continual, and therefore not thick with deceits, trickeries, homicides and wars. Because it is derived from the passing from the unorganised struggle for existence, it can but begin by being rude in its essence and ways. Civilisation, therefore, which in the beginning is necessarily rude, in proportion to the rudeness of sensibility, of conduct and of struggle of the men and women who constitute the first government, and in proportion therefore to the rude form of this first government, cannot help progressing and becoming *always more refined* in proportion as, *first* the men and women who constitute the rulers, *then* the men and women who constitute the ruled, become refined in sensibility, in ways and in struggle; in proportion *therefore* as the form of government itself becomes refined.

Consequently, the progress of civilisation moves naturally in relation with the way in which men and women conduct their struggle for existence. *This struggle for existence*, as we know, ceases to be barbarous, begins to be *civilised* and generates civilisation, when it ceases to be anarchical, when it begins to be *organised* and when it generates government.

Civilisation is therefore, in strict relation with the struggle for existence and with government. Consequently — *a*) it is *local only*, as long as the struggle for existence is organised only among separate groups of men and women, that is, as long as only *local governments* exist, *b*) it becomes *world-wide* when the struggle for existence becomes organised, when all the men and women of

the earth, not only in their aggregates but in their totality, have ceased living in anarchy, have organised their struggle for existence — when, that is, they have produced a *common world-wide government for their common affairs*, namely, for their affairs that are not of the State only but *interstatal*, *c*) being only local, that is to say, not yet world-wide, it becomes *ever more refined, ever more humane*, in proportion to the following progresses made by men and women in their struggle for existence : —

1) in proportion as men and women, whether rulers or ruled, in making use of their forces, conform to ever more equitable conceptions, that is, to conceptions ever less egotistic and ever more altruistic;

2) in proportion as men and women, whether rulers or ruled, renounce *disloyalty* in the use of their force of mind, renounce *ferocity* in the use of their force of body, renounce *prostitution* in the use of their force of wealth;

3) in proportion as, either on account of rulers' rivalry, or of revolutions of the ruled — *a*) despotism, with its inherent tyranny and slavery, is diminished and finally abolished, *b*) vain pretences to govern without real supremacy of force are diminished, and finally suppressed, by means no longer of blind but of conscious and controlled *participation of the mass* in the governmental process of multiple domination, and consequently by means of agreed *constitutional rules*, which cause the authority of government to be always in the hands of those who at the time are really strongest, i. e., who at the time really have greater force of mind, of body and of wealth and therefore greater reason for governmental domination, *c*) equity triumphs in the laws, and justice rules the State — in proportion as, the organisation of government becomes such as to facilitate the development of the highest human faculties, and to raise human life.

The statement that in proportion as the use of disloyalty, ferocity and prostitution

is renounced so does government become more civilised, does not mean therefore the exclusion of the use of these things in the function of government. As long as the rulers and ruled are, by their egotistic and base natures, induced to make use of disloyalty, ferocity and prostitution, it is natural that they should make use of these and that government should function by means of them, producing a State of *civilisation* certainly base, but always preferable to the non-State of anarchy and barbarism.

Similarly with regard to ferocity, we do not mean to suggest that rulers and ruled can renounce the use of violence. We know that this forms part of the force of body and is a most important concrete means — a) by which authority can triumph over anarchy, enforce its laws and execute the penalties threatened in them against the rebel or revolutionist, the insane or ignorant who may try to resist, b) by which the ruled can rise and resist against the iniquitous laws and injustices of rulers. But — as *ferocity remains excluded from violence*, in proportion as men and women render their struggle for existence less brutish and more humane — *so violence can remain latent and inactive in government*, in proportion as men and women continue to refine their civilisation.

Similarly, since *rebellion* and *revolution* are the two violent and extreme means of resistance in the hands of the governed, it is natural that, in proportion as civilisation becomes refined, they should be used after the other means, — a) after those means which are not violent and not extreme, such as *claims, petitions, adverse propaganda, demonstrations*, have been used, b) after those means which are less violent and less extreme, such as *insult, damaging revenge, injurious revenge, mortal revenge*. And it is natural that insult, because consisting of merely oral violence, should be used before either damaging, or injurious or mortal revenge, in which violence becomes material and increases; while it is also natural that it should be used with the full abundance that language offers.

If the history of all the truths which humanity today holds indisputable could be written, it would be perceived that the proceeding in these matters was always the same and approximates to the following conclusions: —

1) obstinate resistance on the part of some — lovers of truth in word, but, in fact, lovers only of such crumbs of truth as are not contrary, but rather profitable to their own interests;

2) avalanche of bad words, poured out first by a few, then by many, then by very many against those who, undone and annihilated, eventually disappear beneath it, while truth, with effort, imposes itself indisputably.

If such a history of truth could be written, oral violences would have to be praised as having been very useful to human learning.

And if the history of politics could also be written, oral violence would be praised as having been beneficial also to human civilisation. Because we should have to agree that insult, as the first degree of only oral violence, has often served in governmental struggles to favour justice and equity, and to avoid greater material violences, such as damage, injurious or mortal revenges, and such extremes as rebellions and revolutions. We should have to deplore the fact that the ruled (not even the Germans) had not thought of organising a sort of public insult service against the rulers who were either iniquitous in their laws or unjust in applying them. A service by which such rulers, day and night, in their offices, in streets, restaurants and theatres, at every moment of their daily lives, should be subjected to vituperation. Such a service, at the disposition of the organised masses, would have produced more valid results than vituperation by individuals and isolated insults. It would have persuaded many men in government to withdraw and relieve the country of their nullity or unworthiness.

III.

WAR AND PEACE ARE BARBAROUS WORDS, THAT IS, WORDS OF BARBAROUS ANARCHY AND OF NONEXISTENT GOVERNMENT.

War and peace are barbarous words. They are words related to the independence, to the unlimited liberty and to the non-State in which men and women or their aggregates, still find themselves. Appropriate words when men and women's struggle for existence is not yet carried on in government and civilisation, i. e., when it is still carried on in anarchy and barbarism. Words, therefore, which begin to have no reason for persisting as soon as men and women emerge from the primitive non-State of anarchical barbarism.

From the moment in which men and women group themselves in the State of government, *war and peace*, the two words of their *anarchical struggle*, give way to *legality and revolution*, which are the two opposite words of *governmental struggle*.

Legality and revolution are therefore civilised words, in contrast to the words war and peace which are barbarous words. Both sets of words explain themselves by their distinctive circles here arranged.

Circle of the struggle for
existence in anarchy.

War
peace
war

Circle of the struggle for
existence in government.

Legality
revolution
legality

In anarchy — war is continuity, peace is transitoriness — war is the normal way of *daily violence*, by which men and women can and do struggle; peace is the abnormal way of *suspended violence*, by which men and women, because of a stipulated truce, can and do struggle.

In government — legality is continuity; revolution is transitoriness — legality is the normal way of *laws, sentences and compulsion*, by which men and women can and do struggle; revolution is the abnormal way of *recurrent anarchical violence*, by which men and women, because of a pause in legality, can and do struggle.

The peaceful pause in war occurs *not by law but by autonomous and uncoercive agreements*, for among belligerents an authority is lacking from which alone can proceed a law giving validity to agreements and rendering them coercive. Therefore *peace* — occurring not by law but by invalid and unenforceable agreements — *does not produce* either rights or duties in a positive sense, and *therefore much less can it produce justice*.

The revolutionary pause in legality occurs against the authority of the governors and tends to *overthrow the validity of the laws* — paralyzes the rights and duties contained in the laws, which only in case of a revolutionary victory can become void, and *therefore also paralyzes justice*.

The peaceful pause in war occurs — either for the convenience of the victorious combatant and because of the resignation of the other, who, while he accepts the peace which is a pause in war, prepares himself for the renewal of war — or because of the exhaustion of both combatants, who agree to the restoration of peace in order, sooner or later, to renew the war. Therefore *peace*, occurring among anarchists, contrarily to revolution, which occurs among legalitarians — *is underlaid by rights and duties that are void*, and moreover ends by not producing justice.

The revolutionary pause in legality occurs — with defence of legality and justice on the part of the assailed governors, who are interested in having the rights and duties contained in their violated laws respected — with tendency toward legality and justice on the part of the governors in aspiration, who are interested in obtaining respect for the rights and duties to be contained in their various laws proposed in conformity with the aims of the revolution. Therefore *revolution*, breaking out among legalitarians, in contradistinction to peace which occurs among anarchists — *is underlaid by rights and duties in existence or in embryo*, and ends by producing justice.

The peaceful pause in war, briefly, promises *little observance of peace agreements*, because — a) it lacks rights, duties and justice in a positive sense, b) because from peace war must sooner or later be re-created, and the peace agreements entered into may prove ruinous to one or other of the combatants or to both: ruinous for the continuation of war. Which, in spite of peace and friendship phrases, was interrupted only in order to be taken up again sooner or later, and can be more advantageously renewed precisely by not observing the peace agreements. To be at peace, that is, to be in a state of pause from the normal non-State of war, means to be in latent anarchical enmity, that is, to have no ties producing a comprehensive sense of the adversary's anguish; it means to be *barbarous friends* in order later to be *barbarous enemies*. And toward the future barbarous enemy, with whom one had, one has and one will have no real ties, one does not like to use acts of respect, such as the observance of agreements. One may wish to use them, *provided* that when used they do not turn to his advantage in future war: *provided* that in future war they do not become a disadvantage to the observer of them. Because disadvantage in war means almost certain death. And almost certain death means renunciation of the aim of war, which is that of suppressing the adversary's life in order to preserve one's own and to have the greatest possible anarchical domination.

The revolutionary pause in legality, on the other hand, promises great observance of the *revolution agreements*, because legality was interrupted during the revolution only to be taken up later, and can be so much better taken up through the observance of the revolution agreements. To be in revolution, namely, in a pause of the normal state of legality, means to be in latent governmental friendship, that is, to have ties producing a comprehensive sense of the adversary's anguish; it means to be *civilised enemies* in order later to be *civilised friends*. And to the present civilised enemy, with whom one has not, but one had and will have real ties, one likes to use acts of respect, such

as the observance of agreements. One can use them *even if*, when used, they turn to his advantage in future legality: *even if*, in future legality, they turn to the disadvantage of him who uses them. Because disadvantage in legality does not mean almost certain death, like disadvantage in war: it means danger of failure in the aim of the revolution — which is that of overthrowing the adversary's authority in order to substitute one's own and to have the greatest possible governmental domination.

He who first said that peace treaties were *scraps of paper*, showed himself clever in affirming the fact, because, enlightened by success, he had produced in himself a relief from false teachings, and intuitive comprehension and sincerity of speech, but he did not show to advantage in his explanation of the fact, because, obscured by the subsequent failure, he had reproduced in himself the weight of false teachings, dullness of comprehension and hypocrisy of speech.

As long as the barbarous system of wars lasts, peace treaties, which pretend to prevent them, in reality are nothing but scraps of paper.

First of all, because they are framed between independent States, namely, among States which, still being in anarchical barbarism — that is, not yet having above them an international authority disposing of international laws, judges and militia, and by these conferring legal value upon their agreements — are in the non-State of declared or latent aggression and in the possible necessity of violating their agreements. These latter consequently, have not a legal value such as private contracts acquire from State laws: they have, from their origin, a benevolent or moral or null value, that is, they are from their origin what private contracts become on the day when a revolutionary outbreak overthrows the State authority, with all its laws, judges and militia, rendering contracts valid or not valid according to the good or ill will of the contracting parties, according to whether they find it convenient

to respect them or necessary to repudiate them.

Then, because they occur after wars or under the menace of wars, they should more properly be called *knife peace agreements or dagger treaties*. And it is not to be wondered at that, endured by the weak under such impositions, such treaties are by these same people, upon the first suitable occasion, violated with sublime treachery, by means of a new war, which may give them the means of dominating over their adversaries and of reconquering the advantageous conditions lost or of conquering more advantageous ones. One should, moreover, be glad that it is thus with peace agreements and treaties, for one should rejoice that the weak and conquered and subjected should feel ambitious to become strong and powerful.

As long as, briefly, the barbarous system of wars lasts, every man who is not abject, every militarist who is not a mere fop, must certainly desire his own people's victory; but, for the honour of the human species, he must also desire to see the conquered people quiver for vengeance and at a suitable time succeed in taking it; he must desire his own people to be again victorious, and the alternation of victories and defeats to be perennial among peoples.

Someone once wrote a *History of Peace Treaties*, and it could only have been a professor who would undertake such a task. Otherwise the author would have demonstrated that the only real value of peace agreements and treaties is always that of being the delineators of future wars, and he would have done better to entitle his work *The History of Peace Perjuries*. But with such history he would not have made his career, and if he had written it before gaining his chair, he would certainly not have obtained it.

From all this the antithesis between the words war and peace, legality and revolution becomes clear. The word peace is a transition from one war to another war. The

word revolution is a transition from one legality to another legality. The fact that the peaceful transition takes place with a bloodless struggle and the revolutionary transition occurs with a bloody struggle, does not render ephemeral peace preferable to probable revolution. Peace leads *certainly* to the anarchical and barbarous bloodiness of war, and the word *peace must be despised* for this reason, as well as for the foolish interpretation given to it of absence of struggle, which we know exists only in death. Revolution leads *certainly* to the governmental and civilised bloodlessness of legality, and the word *revolution must be esteemed* for this reason, as well as for its wise meaning of extreme resistance against the governmental iniquities and injustices which caused it. After all, the word revolution is already esteemed. As it leads to bloodless legality, and permits respect among its actors who are not barbarous enemies but enemies already more or less civilised, it takes place in practice with much less violence than war. It operates with a violence which, from the fact of its being less than the violence of war rather than from the fact of its occurring among fellow-citizens, has caused revolution to be commonly considered and called *civil war*, that is, a war very different from war properly so called. This, arising among enemies in barbarous anarchy, is and must be atrocious, that is, carried on with every means likely to secure the victory for one side or the other in order to attain its aim and not allow it to be reduced to a ridiculous duel.

And from what we have so far understood, it is also clearly to be seen that, whereas *war can be abolished, revolution can only be avoided*.

War can be abolished, and will be, when upon earth there will be no more men and women in anarchy, that is, when finally humanity will have succeeded in creating an International Centre, an International Authority, an International Government which — by International Laws applied through sentences, and by an International Army and Navy commissioned to make

them respected — will impose International Rights and Duties, will create International Legality and Justice, will bring into being, besides local government and local civilisation, also *world-wide government and world-wide civilisation*. Which, if in the beginning it is but little humane, can later become always more so.

Revolution cannot be abolished, as rebellion cannot be abolished, as homicide cannot be abolished. Because, for the existence of homicide one person who kills another is enough; to create rebellion one man who, with reason or madness, rises against the Head or an agent of the authority, is sufficient; to produce revolution a few governors or aspirants to government suffice. For this purpose a few rulers who abuse power, either by iniquitous laws, or by injustices, among which is that of preventing the ruled from using their forces, within the permitted limits, suffice. Likewise a few aspirants to government who, either because of secret influence, or because of the public welfare, think their rise to government urgent, believe their forces to be superior to those of the rulers and imagine themselves able therewith to go beyond the permitted legal limits, in order to drive such rulers from government and substitute themselves in their stead, will be found to be sufficient to create the condition of revolution. Revolution, like homicide and rebellion, can certainly be avoided. Homicide is in fact avoided, through better education of the masses, through greater equity and just observance of the laws. Rebellions can also be thus avoided. Revolution, therefore, can also be thus avoided, and especially through the observance of these two conditions:

1) by taking care that the governmental authority — through observance of the rules concerning it which may have been established — shall always be in the hands of those who at the time are really strongest, that is, who at the moment really have the greatest force of mind, of body and of wealth;

2) by taking care that the rulers in power do not abuse their superior force, that

is to say, by ensuring that they behave with such wisdom and such equity as to cut short every impatient and violent impulse in those who aspire to government, and avert their every temptation to substitute themselves in government through more hasty means of authority than those agreed upon for the ascertainment of forces and recognition of authority.

IV.

FATHERLAND IS THE SACRED WORD OF GOVERNMENT.

Fatherland is a sacred word. Human civilisation, whether local or world-wide, is inconceivable without the conception of Fatherland, even as family, which is an element of civilisation, is inconceivable without the conception of *father*. The word Fatherland — which is connected with the word father, because the father has already imposed his paternal domination over his family when he prepares to impose his governmental domination over his neighbours — is, in short, comprised in the first degree of civil-governmental organisation, and is as sacred as the word father.

Civilisation, in fact, is born of a few strong men and women, who certainly organise themselves in governing domination to put an end to the barbarism of their neighbours' anarchy and to impose upon them the duties of subject obedience, but who, at the same time — partly because of altruistic regard felt toward them, partly in consideration of latent forces in these subjects to be held in restraint — assume toward them duties of support and protection. Civilisation, in fact, is born of the same few strong men and women, who, a little earlier in the historical development of man, had united in parental domination, to put an end to the barbarism of sexual promiscuity and to impose upon women and children duties of wifely and filial obedience, but who at the same time — because of altruistic regard felt toward them, more than in consideration of their latent forces to be possibly kept docile

— had assumed toward them duties of support and protection.

There is, therefore, no civilisation without Fatherland, and there is no Fatherland which does not exercise reciprocal functions similar to those of a father.

A father who exerts his authority over the members of his family and draws profit from their obedient services, but does not provide for the living of all in a way gradually proportioned to his own, is a selfish father who does not deserve respect and obedience. Similarly a Fatherland that exercises its authority over its children and draws profit from their obedient services, but does not provide for the living of all in a way graduated and proportioned to that enjoyed by those who impersonate its heads is a selfish Fatherland, which does not deserve respect and obedience.

A father who in the hour of defence or aggrandisement of his interests, declares it is a question of defending and aggrandising the interests of his sons, and calls them first authoritatively with fatherly domination, then tenderly one by one by their names, who clothes and arms, feeds and caresses them, exalts their family devotion, and with promises of common welfare induces them to sacrifice their work, their affections and their lives, but who then afterwards, when the hour of sacrifice is past, denies them, abandons them and their women and their children to lack of work, of clothing and of food, is an imposter, a false and corrupt father. Similarly a Fatherland whose government in the hour of defence or aggrandisement of the interests of rulers and their adherents, declares authoritatively that it is a question of defending and aggrandising the interests of the governed, and calls them first authoritatively one by one by their conscription names — that is, belonging to their residual slavery — then conjures them with words of faith and clothes and arms and feeds them, provides them with hoods and gloves against the cold, with sweets and cigarettes as tit-bits, exalts their patriotic devotion, and

with promises of common welfare induces them to sacrifice their work, their affections and their lives, but afterwards, when the hour of sacrifice is past, denies them, abandons them with their women and children to lack of work, of clothing and of food (unless they later make themselves recognised as criminals and can enjoy these things in prison) is an imposter, a false and corrupt Fatherland.

The Fatherland, in a true sense, ensures domination to those strongest in mind, body or wealth, who conquer it in government; ensures domination to those, strongest in mind, body or wealth, who conquer it in professions, trades, arts and commerce; but it does not tolerate that its dominators and rulers, whether governmental or private, shall live with superfluous wealth — while some of its subjects, boys and girls, seeds of God, lack the necessary care to become men and women — while men and women, children of God, lack work, are deprived of necessities, are compelled to the shame of misery and charity, of prostitution or crime, compelled to be an uneducated and rough mob, which must remain in spirit eternally base. A Fatherland which has a government that produces and tolerates such a state of things, is a Fatherland inferior to that tyrannical first degree of civilisation, born through patriarchal domination over supported and protected slaves. And those who create such Fatherlands by their egotistic greed, are less civilised than the first barbarians who took the earliest steps towards organised existence. They offer to the people a government, certainly, in place of an anarchy, but a government monstrously rich with patriotic rights and monstrously poor in patriotic duties.

V.

PENTALOGUE OF THE POSITIVE INFERENCES OF GOVERNMENT.

These positive inferences of government also need a pillar to support them. And here it is in this second Pentologue.

1. Life is not peace, but struggle — unlike death which is peace.

2. Domination by the strongest is the way in which the struggle for existence can develop best, and the end of life be best attained. Because domination means ruled order, which imposes itself upon anarchical disorder.

In fact, the universal struggle for domination begins, *a*) among the heavenly bodies, where the greater dominate the lesser, compelling them to move as much as possible within the orbits allowed them, *b*) ends among the cells of which the various bodies living upon the heavenly ones are formed, their strongest cells being those which dominate over the others.

3. The strongest bodies, among those of which a State is composed, are those which, by universal law, must dominate and do dominate over the others — over the wretched ones incapable of prevailing — over the decadents who are condemned to be subjected or to disappear as a penalty for their vices.

Similarly, the strongest States, among those of which humanity is composed, are those which, by universal law, must dominate and do dominate over the others — over the wretched who may never hope to rise to importance — over the decadent, condemned to be subjected or to disappear as penalty for their deterioration.

4. If with serene scientific observation, the elements are analyzed by which the government of a city or nation — as much after a civil war, i. e., after a despotic struggle, as after an election, i. e., a representative struggle — reaches the hands of those persons who attain to government, it will be perceived that they, at the moment, comprise within themselves the greatest collective force, *a*) of *mind*, honestly or dishonestly, directive, *b*) of *bodies*, disciplined and actively supporting, *c*) of *financial means*, openly or covertly used. It will be perceived that they can, by armed violence of laws, of judges and of militia,

dominate and impose themselves as governors over all other persons who, having relatively less force of mind, of body, of money, must resign themselves to remain submissive as governed until they are able to rise to greater force of mind, body and wealth, and so dominate and impose themselves in their turn by armed violence of laws, of judges and of militia, as new rulers.

In the force of mind, of body and of wealth lies, therefore, the positive basis for authority and function of government. And the Science of Government is nothing but the science of domination, that is, at bottom, the science of violence. This is iniquitous and demoniacal or equitable and holy, according to the egotistic or altruistic nature of those who represent the government, and who, whosoever they may be — cause the struggle for existence to develop better in order than in disorder.

5. The words « force, struggle and domination » are therefore the most scientific of all in matter of government. They show us that, as in the past egotists struggled against altruists and dominated governmentally, because they were strongest in mind, in supporters and wealth, so in the future altruists will struggle against egotists and dominate governmentally, because they will know how to make themselves strongest in mind, in supporters and in wealth, by making better use of the 10 means of resistance which the ruled will have against the rulers. For it is by these ten listed means, graduated through various degrees of violence from *not-violent* to *extremely violent*, combined with the means of enforcing penalties, that the relative civilisation attained by men and women on earth has been produced. *Claims*, by making known to the rulers a need or an injustice — *petitions*, by indicating to them the measure thought advantageous for the need or against the injustice — *adverse propaganda*, by weakening their governmental authority — *demonstrations*, by giving them the opportunity of counting their visible adversaries and calculating their invisible ones — *insults*, by poisoning their life — *damaging revenges*,

by impoverishing it — *injurious revenges*, by endangering it — *mortal revenge* by removing them from life — *rebellions*, by lessening the authority of their government — *revolutions*, by overthrowing their governments and themselves — all of them constitute the *half score means of resistance* which have

greatly aided and will aid in opening the minds of rulers, in curbing their egotism, in urging them towards the passing of more equitable laws and juster applications of them, for a better human coexistence and a higher human civilisation for mankind in the future.

CHAPTER IV.

SCIENTIFIC NATIONAL CONSTITUTIONS. THE INTERNATIONAL CONSTITUTION.

The State cannot for ever remain defiled by its two original malignant sores. It is impossible that the States should not finally be cured of them, by means of these or of other new and positive conceptions of government, which, penetrating into the mind of humanity, will produce, like a miraculous serum, the great and much sought-after cure.

Given, therefore, that governmental domination — or rather legal domination and governmental authority — belongs to those who are in fact united and strongest in mind, in body and in wealth;

given that despotism is only a partially positive and scientific way of governing, the more so if it mocks at God and uses the satanic discovery of divine right;

given that — as it is profitable for dominators to be assured of their domination — so it is profitable for the dominated to be conscious that their present submission is opportune;

given that it is profitable for civilisation, that legal domination should be developed with greatest possible securities and guarantees;

granting all this, it becomes evident that the function of government can and must be rendered positive and scientific by these

Statutes of a NATIONAL CONSTITUTION, including as a natural development, the INTERNATIONAL.

I.

The satanic idea of divine right is suppressed. Hence, royal despotic arbitrariness ceases, with its inherent tyranny and slavery, with its State monopolies of churches and schools, charged with upholding this tyranny and slavery by false teachings of suffocated science and obscurantist religion. And hence, the time of *Kingdom States* with their relative *subjects* is ended.

II.

From this day dawns the era of Nation States, i. e., the era of State connections between the native-born and the naturalised of a given place. Who — *through controlled and bloodless electoral struggles*, rather than through the *process of representative multiple domination*, rather than through the process of despotic multiple domination — *through parliamentary discussions and votes*, rather than through violent warlike impositions — according to electoral and parliamentary results, that show in a positive way which among these native-born and naturalised are the strongest in mind, in body and in wealth, to whom governmental domination belongs — together contend for this domination and cede it to one another.

III.

The representatives — elected, because strongest among the native-born and naturalised components of the national State, and authorised to treat *national affairs* of State by the force of majorities, or rather, to create rights and duties, with national laws imposed by the strongest among them — will treat national affairs of State *in a public National Assembly* : —

1) so that, from an oral clash of ideas of government, the truest may develop and predominate ;

2) so that, by the public speaking of altruistic representatives, who support equitable measures, the power of overbearing mutely and secretly, without giving account or reason, may be taken from egotistic representatives, who sustain iniquitous measures ;

3) so that government injustice may be open to denunciation, while guilty governors may be punished ;

4) so that the ugliness of despotic governmental arbitrariness, which is naturally mendacious besides being tyrannical, may be replaced by the beauty of controlled representative government, which is naturally truthful besides being liberal ;

5) so that, in short, the old malignant internal State sore may be cured, and the State may reach the pure sensation and actuation of all those equities whereby civilisation becomes complete and the Fatherland again becomes sacred.

IV.

The National Assembly is the depository of governmental domination, by assignment from all the native-born and naturalised components of the Nation, who, before elections, have this authority in their hands.

The President of the National Assembly, elected by the representatives — a) directs

its discussions, b) confirms its decisions, c) assigns to the *Prime Minister*, designated by the Assembly itself, the execution of the laws of the government, d) orders the *Head of the Militia*, designated by the Assembly itself, to direct the hierarchical military functions and to carry out, by compulsion if necessary, the Prime Minister's whether personal or delegated measures.

V.

In treating national affairs the National Assembly can divide itself into *parties*, according to principles or occasional conflicts. But every party distinction and nomenclature presupposes that natural one, which is as durable as its presentation by physical organisms. This natural division consists of : —

1) on the one hand the *brutish*, i. e., those representatives organically so egotistic, as to exceed in greed even the greediest beasts, and whose laws cause some men and women in the Fatherland to enjoy superfluities — while at the same time there are boys and girls, seeds of God, deprived of the necessities for becoming men and women — while in it are men and women, children of God, in penury of work, deprived of all the necessities, constrained to the shame of charity, of prostitution and of crime, constrained to be uneducated, rough plebeians and to remain in spirit eternally base ;

2) on the other hand the *humane*, i. e., those representatives organically so altruistic as to surpass primitive men in their renunciation of superfluities and even of necessities. This class will never desist from combating the brutish representatives.

VI.

The proposal and drawing up of a law must be done singly by one or another of the representatives — so that its conception and drawing up may be planned with organic perfection — so that the Assembly in its discussions and decisions may freely, without

ministerial compulsion, accept it if worthy, or reject it if unworthy.

And to the Assembly of Representatives belongs the *interpretation of obscure laws* — so that administrative or judicial functionaries may not place themselves above the legislators, with interpretations contrary to the spirit of the law. Otherwise, the representatives may become legislators, knowing nothing of laws and unfit to give them precision, to reform them, to repeal them, to keep them in harmony with the times and to perfect them with their progress.

Thus the right of pardon, i. e., to a particular injustice declared and desired for the convenience of government, belongs to the National Assembly.

VII.

The Prime Minister and the Ministers appointed by him must therefore not be meddling lawmakers. They must only be just executors of the laws. Their responsibility, for their own acts, as for those of their subordinates, must have no other basis and sphere than that of justice or injustice. Politics must be extraneous to them, belonging primarily to the mass of electors and then to the representatives in Assembly.

The administrative officers and the judges of conflicts among individuals or societies must, nevertheless, upon their own responsibility and upon the supreme responsibility of their Minister, apply the laws with justice until they are repealed, drawing attention when needful to their inconveniences.

VIII.

The military force depends on principle solely upon the National Assembly, and the *Head of the Militia*, whom, through its President, the Assembly invests with power, provides for all the hierarchical military functions. Only when the President of the Assembly orders that compulsion be given to the Prime Minister's whether personal or

delegated measures, only then, and only in regard to what belongs to compulsion for such measures, does the Head of the Militia become dependent upon the Prime Minister.

The militia nevertheless cannot, in a representative government, be slaves of conscription, as they must be in a despotic government. In a representative government the militia are volunteers, who proudly, at the risk of their persons and lives, assume the high task of being impartial depositaries of the legal violence of government, to guarantee the observance of the laws and the progress of civilisation.

It is for the representatives, who in the National Assembly have legal domination and the authority of government, to promote, and obtain voluntary supporters of their policies and their laws. Failure in this is a sign that they are not the strongest, that they do not constitute the parliamentary majority, that the elections were not truthful in designating them as the representatives to whom legal domination and the authority of government belong.

To the militia, thus no longer instruments of despotic arbitrariness, but impartial supporters of representative laws, belongs the gratitude of all the native-born and naturalised citizens who constitute the Nation.

IX.

In order to render the functions of government more liberal and less complex, but more connected and disciplined, especially with regard to the use of armed force: —

1. As long as civilisation remains local and not also world-wide, because of the persistent anarchical barbarism of national independences, which took the place of royal independences, and are productive of illegality among the various States — the National Assembly, *a*) delegates to elective Communal Assemblies the jurisdiction of all those affairs which, concerning the inhabitants of a given community, are by it defined as purely

local interests, b) determines the proportion of arms and militia to be allowed to the various communities, for guaranteeing the observance of their communal laws, under the orders of a Commander who, like the Commander of national militia, depends for his authority upon the President of the Communal Assembly.

2. When civilisation becomes world wide, because of having suppressed the anarchical barbarism of national independences and of having introduced legality among the various States, by means of an INTERNATIONAL CONSTITUTION, every National Assembly of the already existing Nations that adhere to the INTERNATIONAL CONSTITUTION, cedes to the International Assembly of the INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTION the following powers :

1) *Power to constitute itself*, by means of the PLENIPOTENTIARIES sent to the INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY by every already existing Nation adhering to it — Plenipotentiaries sent in proportion to the various provisional, and agreed upon, average forces that each Nation possesses in its industry, its population and its public and private wealth, which are fundamental for governmental authority, since they are the factors of victorious domination in the homicidal furies of war, as of governmental domination in the homicidal intervals of peace ;

2) power to constrain existing but not adhering Nations to take their part in the INTERNATIONAL CONSTITUTION ;

3) power to recognise the nationality of those native-born and naturalised men and women who, with due reason, desire to become a Nation ;

4) power to establish the number of Plenipotentiaries which each separate pre-existing or new Nation has the right to elect, in proportion to the varying average of its forces, and send to the INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY ;

5) power to reconsider the average of these forces from time to time, and conse-

quently, according to the variations in the average, to maintain, increase or diminish the number of each Nation's Plenipotentiaries ;

6) power to begin to define — which affairs are to be considered affairs of communal interest, to be treated by Communal Assemblies — which of national interest to be treated by National Assemblies and which of international interest, to be treated by the INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY ;

7) power to determine the proportion of arms and militia which every Nation may possess and distribute among its communities, for the observance of national and communal laws ;

8) power to appoint the INTERNATIONAL PRIME MINISTER who shall look after the just application of the international laws, by means of supreme judges chosen by him, with the approval of the INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY, as also by means of functionaries ;

9) power to determine, according to the number of a Nation's Plenipotentiaries sent to the INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY, the various amount of arms, militia and financial contributions which every Nation represented in the INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY must furnish thereto for the purposes of the *International Army*, to ensure the observance of international laws ;

10) power to appoint the INTERNATIONAL COMMANDER who, deriving his authority from the PRESIDENT of the INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY, directs the hierarchical functions of the International Army, and enforces execution of the measures passed to secure the observance of international laws, that may be communicated personally to him by the President or by the President be delegated to the International Prime Minister.

So that therefore : —

by delegation from the National Assembly, there will be the COMMUNITY, which

will treat *communal affairs* — in a *Communal Assembly of Communal Councillors* — with communal ministers, judges and officers — with voluntary communal militia to ensure the observance of *communal laws*;

by function of the National Assembly, there will be the NATION, which will treat national affairs — in the *National Assembly of National Representatives* — with national ministers, judges and officers — with voluntary national militia, to ensure the observance of *national laws*;

by cession from the National Assembly, there will be the INTERNATIONAL which will treat *international affairs* in the INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY of *International Plenipotentiaries* — with international ministers, judges and officers, with voluntary international militia to ensure the observance of *international laws*.

As the PRESIDENT, the PREMIER and the COMMANDER are the highest authorities of the Nation — so the Community has in its President, its Premier and its Commander its miniature but highest authorities — so the INTERNATIONAL has in its President, its Premier and its Commander its most important and actually highest authorities. And both in Communal Assemblies and in the INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY, the parties, the functions, the procedures are similar to those of the National Assembly.

There will thus be the COMMUNITY, THE NATION AND THE INTERNATIONAL, for the civilised coexistence of humanity. And the Nations will be the several sources of these governmental authorities, producing civilised human coexistence. The several sources which — while springing from the vitality of the native-born and naturalised who form the NATIONS — spreading out, give life to the rivulets of COMMUNITIES — flowing together, give life to the stream of the INTERNATIONAL.

X.

The Nations must be personified, so that they may upon occasion be represented sin-

gly. Constituted as it is of the native-born and naturalised who bring to mind the sublime maternal function of nativity, the Nation will therefore be symbolically represented by a *woman* who, rising by sublime virtue, will have been elected by the National Assembly.

Her name and official title will be simply this — THE NATION. And her stay in office, except in cases of demerit and deposition, will be for life.

Her duties will be the following — to represent the Nation on all occasions when her presence is desired — to give, in the most intense political conflicts, counsels of maternal equity — to assume the possible transitory function of government, in eventual revolutionary subversions that arrest the legal functioning of the powers of the State.

As to the *personification* and single representation of the Community and the INTERNATIONAL — the one, because of the similarity of its elements and the simplicity of its functions, will be personified by the President of the Communal Council, the Mayor — the other, because of the dissimilarity of its elements and the complexity of its functions, will be personified by an expressly elected delegation, composed of one representative for every Nation and by the national flag.

These are the first Ten Statutes of a NATIONAL CONSTITUTION by which the function of government can and must be made positively scientific, by which politics can and must cease being the vulgar empiricism which they are. In explanation of these there are but a few ideas to be added regarding parliamentary-electoral struggles and nationalities.

Elections are the organised, controlled and therefore positively scientific, as well as most civilised way, by which coexisting people use their forces of mind, of body and of wealth in order — to make that imposition of multiple domination which we know to be

necessary — to complete and ensure the various dominations in the sexual, family, professional, artistic, commercial and social fields and to live more according to the dictates of their own will. That imposition, as we saw in anarchical barbarism, i. e., in the absence of government — occurred through warlike victory — affirmed itself with arbitrary proceedings — existed in tyrannical despotism — and ended with frequent revolutions on the part of the governed, persuaded to such a step in good or bad faith, and convinced that they were the strongest and had the right themselves to make the same imposition of governmental domination, to complete and ensure their various sexual, family, professional, trade, artistic, commercial and social dominations, and be able to live more according to the dictates of their own will.

The constitutional electoral system of representative government in short, causes governmental domination to fall into the hands of those who are really strongest, i. e., — those who, being more intelligent, have known, with sincerity or deceit, how to persuade or to capture more electors, even as they would have captured more combatants on the battle field — those who, being more attractive, more agile, more robust, have known with seduction, with quickness, with every kind of effort how to attract or constrain more electors, even as they would have incited or compelled more combatants to aid them on the battle field — those who, being richest, have known with more means how to entice and induce more electors, even as they would have armed and led more combatants on the battle field. So that the elected — looked upon as representatives, are the electors strongest in mind, in body or in wealth or in all together, who, by the use of these greater forces, have known how to dominate more electors and civilly to conquer more *potentiality for legal domination*, for governmental authority, for faculty to create rights and duties in laws, and to live at the head of their own electors, more according to their will, whether egotistic and maleficent or altruistic and beneficent.

All those native-born and naturalised in the Nation, both men and women, except those belonging to the only two excluded categories, must have the vote — a) in order to be able to develop their forces legally rather than arbitrarily, b) in order to be reasonably punished if they violate a law made not despotically and independently of them, but as a consequence either of the great force they used in imposing it or of the little force they possessed to prevent it. And the only two excluded classes comprise — a) men and women not yet arrived at their majority or at the use of their full forces of mind, body and wealth, b) men and women who, undergoing the penalty of imprisonment, are removed from the possibility of using their forces in electoral struggles, even as they would be unable to use them in warlike struggles, if these had not been substituted by the equivalent electoral struggles.

Electoral struggles, being civilised and equivalent substitutes for barbarous warlike struggles, require that *the vote be public*. As, in warlike struggles, men and women, if not abstentionists, participate with the forces of mind, body and wealth that they may bring, and their warlike participation does not take place hiddenly but openly — so, in the electoral struggles, men and women, if not abstentionists, must participate also with the forces of mind, body and wealth that they may bring, and their electoral participation must take place not by means of a secret but by means of a public vote.

He who, not prevented by unavoidable circumstances, *abstains from voting*, deserts the electoral field, where the vote is public, in order to escape responsibility, would similarly desert the field of warlike struggle, if this had not been substituted by the electoral one. He is one who out of cowardice renounces taking part in politics, that is, in the government struggles, and is satisfied to submit to the laws, whatever these may be, that are imposed upon him by the elected representatives. He therefore, in case he violates the laws, having done nothing to prevent their creation, has no right to mit-

igations of his punishment. And in the meantime, for the service he receives in being governed without giving himself any trouble, he will pay a tax *as voluntary subject*.

The electoral vote must be single, both for men and women, since each one — according to his force of mind, and of the maleficent or beneficent ideas which in speaking or writing he is capable of using in favour of this or that programme or representative — according to his force of body, and of the attraction or agility or tenacity that he may adopt for the propaganda and victory of this or that programme or representative — either votes singly with his own vote, if he is poor in forces, or joins his suffrage to the votes of those whom by his greater force he has induced to vote in his way.

Elections being the organised, controlled and therefore positively scientific as well as most civilised way, by which coexisting peoples use their forces in order to make that imposition of governmental domination which in anarchical barbarism occurs with arbitrary despotic proceeding; electoral and parliamentary struggles being the civilised and equivalent substitute for barbarous warlike struggles; the Hall of the National Assembly being the civilised and equivalent substitute for the barbarous battlefield — the number of national representatives must be in proportion to the average of the factors by which in war victory is secured, and which are mentality, arms and money. It must therefore be proportioned to the average force of mind, body and wealth, of which an electoral region or district is composed. It must be proportioned, in short, to the laboriousness, the population and the public and private wealth of the various electoral regions and districts of the State. And this — both because every region must be represented in the National Assembly and dominate in its control of national affairs according to the forces it would employ, with which it would struggle and win or lose in war — and because the revision of the number of representatives, which from time to time

must take place, will incite the native-born and the naturalised of any given place to progress rather than to become decadent in its capacity for laboriousness, in its population and wealth, so that it may hope to have the number of its own representatives increased rather than diminished, so that it may hope to prevail in the National Assembly in a greater and not a less degree.

He who is conscious of being able to prevail to the extent of being able to dominate in the affairs of State as representative and to have governmental domination, must, without hypocrisies regarding invitations and appeals, *vigorously prosecute his candidature*.

Electoral struggles, or rather elections, must from time to time be *renewed*, so that governmental domination may always be in the hands of those who at the time are really strongest instead of in the hands of those who were so a little time before.

The parliamentary-electoral system comprises, in a more civilised form, all the positive foundations of the Science of Government and is based upon them. It does not exclude but organises and controls the use of force. And because the use of mental force is superior to that of bodily force, the parliamentary-electoral system, in opposition to that of arbitrary despotism, is summarised in this positive pivot of human civilisation: *before compulsion, the law of the strongest; before law, the free Parliament*.

This is a summary explanation of the principles of parliamentary-electoral struggle. As to nationalities, the explanations are also brief and concise.

We have declared that the Nation is the fact and symbol of connection between the native-born and naturalised in a given place. These men and women — through controlled and bloodless struggles, rather than through uncontrolled and bloody warlike struggles — through representative multiple domination, rather than through despotic multiple dom-

ination — through parliamentary discussions and voting, rather than through warlike impositions and violences — according to the electoral and parliamentary results, which prove in a positive way who among them are the strongest in mind, body and wealth, to whom governmental domination belongs — contend together for and cede such domination to one another. *But this does not mean that a Nation can arise because of the caprice of a few native-born and naturalised persons in a given place.* The civil function of government is impossible, as among individuals so among States, without the suppression of anarchy, which is the negation of government and civilisation, without legal domination, as of some individuals over other individuals, so of some States over other States.

This premised, and well understood before we touch on the question of nationality, we can come to a better understanding of the argument.

Kingdoms and Empires, although despicable, because of having deepened their internal sore of arbitrary despotism, have had the merit, not through benevolence but through necessity, of reducing their external sore, consisting in the barbarous anarchy of independences, in the best way they could, that is, by means of armed conquests for the greatness of the Fatherland and by the legal submission of the conquered and absorbed States. Having lacked the possibility, as well as the will and capacity, of constituting among themselves a representative and parliamentary international government, by means of an INTERNATIONAL CONSTITUTION, based on positive electoral conceptions; having sought to cure their external sore of anarchical independence by the whim of Universal Empire, that is, in the only way that their little minds and great distances could suggest — it was natural that they were inclined to suppress rather than concede State independence, as each separate State in itself represented the menace of an enemy's lair and the possibility of an offensive war. Because it was natural that every aggregate of individuals should be inclined to constitute a

separate State, and to become inebriated with patriotic independence and the far away dream of becoming a Kingdom and then, perhaps, even a Universal Empire. This had to be. And this will have to be until the day when the difficulties of communication and intercourse among the various States have ceased to exist. That is to say — until there exists an International Centre of Communication where all nations may meet upon neutral ground, discuss their common affairs with all the conveniences of permanence settle their disputes in a World Court of Justice empowered to enforce its decrees by the authority of the combined Nations, enjoy the benefits of a Scientific Centre radiating the world's latest discoveries to all parts of the universe, as well as of an International Press Bureau whose mission it will be to edit news not in the interest of certain cliques but in the interest of humanity.

Until then, we must postpone the joy of having a legal world wide civilisation rather than only a local one. Until the difficulties of communication and intercourse are overcome, we must resign ourselves to the continuance of wars for patriotic defence and patriotic aggrandisement, which the external sore of the barbarism of anarchy abroad necessitates.

But, on the day when a World Centre of Communication is built, when it stands in stone and steel with doors open to the people of the world, when through its gateways all classes and conditions of men can come to a central point of intercourse, see the latest world products, give and gain freely and unlimitedly, on that day the various Nations which have given themselves a National Constitution will be easily persuaded to give themselves also an INTERNATIONAL CONSTITUTION, that is, to create the INTERNATIONAL as an emanation from the various classes forming the Nations, and to have also International Representatives who in majorities will prevail in the INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY by the forces of mind, body and wealth of the Nations, and who will exercise *legal domination over international foreign affairs.*

Then — elections being the organised, controlled and positively scientific as well as most civilised way in which coexisting peoples use their forces in order to make the imposition of governmental domination; electoral and parliamentary struggles being the civilised substitutes for barbarous warlike struggles; the INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY Hall being the civilised field substituted for the barbarous battlefield — *the number of international representatives* will also be proportioned to the average of the factors by which in war victory is obtained and which are, mentality, arms and money. It will therefore be proportioned to the average force of mind, body and wealth of which each Nation is formed. It will be proportioned, briefly, to the laboriousness, the population and the public and private wealth possessed by the various Nations of the INTERNATIONAL. And then, because international affairs are no longer resolved by means of barbarous wars,

but parliamentarily, in the INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY, with combination of majorities variously renewed according to the cases of conflict and of international laws; Nations being able to obtain and conquer for themselves boundaries and outlets, for exploitation and enrichment and for vent of population, parliamentarily according to their national forces, rather than by war — they will have no more reason to want to be big or to refuse to concede nationality to other States. They will, instead, be inclined to concede nationality within reasonable limits and to divide themselves, if large, into so many small Nations, in order to become more sensitive, more equitable, more disciplined, more civilised in their internal affairs of government and to preserve themselves from the danger of national decadence, which, in our historical survey, we saw arose from too great an extension of boundaries and inevitably led to demoralisation and death.

CHAPTER V.

THE TRUE INTERNATIONAL STATE.

How much the word International was feared when it had no significance — when it meant the darkness of the void in the minds of those who uttered it, a darkness obscurely threatening the annihilation of civilisation.

And what happiness this same word International brings, now that, illumined by the Positive Science of Government, it means the greatest and simplest of things: the Scientific International State, brought about by the INTERNATIONAL CONSTITUTION among the former Tribe, City, Kingdom, Empire States, become scientific Nation States. For how much happiness may this word International be responsible, now that we understand by it the Constitution of civil legality among all the men and women of the earth; a legality which is no longer local only but also world-wide, no longer only communal and national but also international. What joy this word affords now that it means international governmental domination, by means of which all the men and women of the earth, in proportion to their forces of mind, body and wealth can more widely and more completely ensure the sexual, family, religious, professional, trade, artistic, commercial and social dominations, which were already less extensively assured them in proportion to these same forces, by their communal and national dominations.

The massacre caused by the most horrible of wars had to be perpetrated in order

that the light of a Positive Science of Government might shine and lead to this civilised perception! Such horrors were necessary. For every great human good has always been the outcome of immense efforts, made because of some vast evil to be escaped from. The great harm done by those who desired this frightful war, as well as that done by those who neither knew how to avoid it in past years nor how to end it after its proved futility: these two conjoined evils were necessary for stimulating the great efforts of thought required in order — to bury the many political prejudices that still persisted — to give birth to the many positive political ideas that were lacking — to make the fact understood that false Public Right was the first cause of the war — to transform the word International from an obscure ideology into an immense civilised light.

The attacked Nations : —

1) because incapable of seeing or following the smooth and beautiful constitutional way out of this most horrible of wars;

2) because they were not instructed in this way by the socialist leaders, (who had confirmed themselves as being the dull doctrinaires that they were, and who, because incapable of seeing this constitutional way and of uniting in following it, had disbanded into two factions — one consisting of the interventionists, who favoured warlike resis-

tance, without, however, taking pains to come to an agreement upon the future International Constitution with the royal governments that used them and mocked them with vague promises of future civilisation and durable peace — the other consisting of the neutralists who, worse than the former faction, opposed warlike resistance, while remaining indifferent to the victory which, without resistance, the aggressive Nation might have won, and who did nothing to avoid the disaster that humanity would have undergone by falling under that Nation's domination);

3) because not intending to end the war, as they said, in such a truly civilised way that it could never be repeated, and in such manner that the death of so many youths might bear fruit for their distant descendants in a heritage of true civilisation;

4) because being determined to end the war in the old barbarous way, that is to say, to their own advantage and to the aggressive Nation's disadvantage, which is as much as to say, by victory on the one side and a desire for revenge on the other, which would leave to their sons the heritage of worse wars in the future;

5) because, briefly, wishing to murder and despoil the aggressive Nation, as the latter had tried to murder and despoil them;

6) consequently — with the lying and menacing inducement that victory would be immediately attainable by the intervention of this neutral Nation, and then by the intervention of that neutral Nation, and then again that victory would be inevitably certain by the intervention of yet another neutral Nation — drew into the abyss of war one after another of the neutrals who had been reluctant to enter it (reluctant because sure of being finally conquered by the aggressor), with the following results: —

They sacrificed these neutral Nations, which, as they themselves had foreseen, were in fact conquered by the aggressor.

They gave the aggressive Nation further opportunity of confirming the great supremacy of its military power, since it was able to resist successfully against almost the whole of humanity, while making at the same time successive secondary conquests.

They made it clear that they were led by petty statesmen, incapable of realising that they should have kept to the smooth and beautiful way leading to this constitutional outcome in order to prevent the increase of the aggressive Nation's military power, as well as to avoid the slightest possibility of falling a prey to its victory and under its domination. They said, in their political jargon, «The Allied Powers are risking everything for democracy and European liberty». Real statesmen, had there been any such — after the aggressive Nation had failed to secure a rapid success and had expressed its crafty desire to end the war with any kind of a peace — would, with fewer speeches and less talk, have shrewdly kept to this smooth and beautiful way, and in this fashion would have crushed positively not only the aggressive Nation's militarism but all militarism, and would have given the lie to the accusation that they, the attacked Nations, were contrary to the aggressive Nation's militarism only inasmuch as this had become stronger than and threatened their own militarisms, which they sought to defend and preserve.

They eliminated, or at least retarded, the danger of being conquered by the aggressive Nation.

They, for the time being at least, saved humanity from the uncivilised retrogression into which it would have fallen if, through offering too slight a resistance to the enemy, it had fallen under the authority of the mediaeval aggressive and conquering Nation.

But destiny held that the lives of so many innocent youths — destroyed by two monstrous Christian groups in rapacious struggle — should serve a higher aim of human welfare. It was fated that the attacked Na-

tions, continuing in the sorry game of inciting other Nations to warlike intervention — instead of following the constitutional way — should be constrained to the humiliation of having to implore the material and moral aid of America and of having to beg for its intervention; although America in the past had disdained European political contact, and had reduced to the utmost its relations with the royal European authorities.

No victors and no vanquished! — cried over the ocean the puritan spirit of the American President in answer to the first European appeals for intervention. With an honest perception of faults, he had seen that there were some on both sides. With cautious and patient notes, he for months and years had kept from mixing his country in these errors. With an equitable vision of peace, he now consented to give the begged for intervention, but on condition that it should be a factor in really ending wars. But this cry of «no victory and no vanquished» sounded ill in the ears of the attacked Nation's royal diplomacies which, lusting for victory and vengeance, tried confusedly to smother it and contradicted one another. Because the durable peace, which they assured one another they wished to achieve later, would only be possible with the adhesion of the aggressive Nation, which the latter could only give it if it was neither conqueror nor conquered.

No annexations and no indemnities, and a civilised adjustment of the Nations! — again cried out over the ocean the puritan spirit of the American President. Then royal delegations from the attacked Nations crossed the ocean — to surround the man — to take from his hand the megaphone which his pure spirit had urged him to use — to cavil about annexations: whether or not they should be made; about indemnities: should they or should they not be allowed — to guarantee their impunity from the consequences of their own faults — to safeguard the profits of vengeance to be gained by their victory — to postpone till later the civilised organisation of the Nations.

No more autocracies! — finally cried across the ocean the pure spirit of the American President, knowing the incredible malice with which old European autocracies had succeeded in subverting the democracies to their own ends and in preparing the conditions for the outbreak of this war. And the royal diplomacies illuding themselves that they had detached from his purpose, surrounded and captured the man, illuding themselves that they had suborned him from his pure spirit, repeated in chorus — Yes indeed — that the mission of democracy was very beautiful because of having known how not to abolish but to moderate royal autocracies; that to the modernising functions of the democracies, humanity owed all the delights of civilisation which it enjoyed in the time before this most horrible of wars broke out, owing to the immoderate lust of the aggressive Nation's autocracy. This autocracy required precisely American intervention in order that it should be — not suppressed but democratised as other autocracies had been. It was consequently likewise to be called to maintain humanity in such delights of civilisation as those it enjoyed before the war in the Chaotic Period, itself the product of democratised royal autocracies.

But destiny held that the lives of so many innocent youths — destroyed by two monstrous Christian groups in rapacious struggle — should serve a higher aim of human welfare.

New men, risen from the popular classes of the attacked Nations, with eyes open at last to the sunny light of a Positive Science of Government, and able to see the abyss towards which the governments were advancing, likewise appealed to America for intervention, but in a very different tone. As will be seen from the following.

Americans, you are children of those who immigrated, not because they abandoned or did not love their native countries, but in order to escape the shame of obeying royal autocracies they were unable to overthrow.

Americans, the royal successors of those who obliged your fathers to emigrate, now, to help them against a stronger autocracy than their own, call you back to those same ancestral lands!

Come, as the reincarnated spirits of your fathers, no longer impotent but most powerful! Come to accomplish the task and the destiny that they, because defeated, had to leave undone! Come to suppress not only one but all royal autocracies!

Americans, this war cannot end in the usual way. It must not finish with another peace treaty. Such a treaty would only be the guarantee of its beginning again sooner or later. See to it that this war ends in a new and in a worthy way. Give to your President — loosened from royal bonds and girded with the popular will — the strength to guide the decisive events of this war in such manner that:

It will be recognised that the popular class's turn for governmental domination has come. This turn, however, should be settled not violently but equitably, and therefore sympathetically aided by the most altruistic members of the two formerly superior classes.

In spite of all the scholastic and political chatter of the past, these *elementary political principles*, forming a synthesis of the Pentologue for the Positive Science of Government should be finally recognised and spread.

I.

Domination is the fundamental law of the various and complex universal forces, which can only remain transitorily in the *disorder of independences and equivalences*.

II.

The progressive life of the stars, the plants, the beasts, of man and of the cellulae of which these bodies are formed, is

carried on by means of struggles, which have as their basis the *universal law of domination*. So that life is struggle for domination, in contradistinction to death, which brings peace to the body.

III.

Every man or woman, whether for selfish and evil or for altruistic and beneficent ends, struggles in fact until death by means of his or her forces of mind, body and wealth — the three human forces — in order to increase them and to have by their means more or less sexual or family, or religious or professional or trade or artistic or commercial or social and, moreover, governmental domination, that is to say, the legal authority that ensures all other dominations. And government authority belongs precisely to those who, being united in the struggle for existence and strongest in minds, bodies and wealth — as, because of these greater united forces, they attain *victorious domination in the homicidal furies of war* — so, because of the same greater united forces, and through the process of multiple domination, assume *governmental domination in the homicidal intervals of peace*.

IV.

Nations, being nothing but aggregates of individuals, cannot but likewise struggle, with their collective forces of mind, body and wealth, in order to ensure to their component parts these same dominations not only in the interior but also abroad, and for the same selfish and evil or altruistic and beneficent ends.

V.

As National Constitutions, although empirical, ended the barbarous anarchy of individual independences and of continual individual assassinations, of communal independences and of continual intercommunal wars, much better than did the absolute autocracies, because, a) they gave to every man and woman, in proportion to his or her forces

of mind, body and wealth, the possibility of having controlled and parliamentary governmental domination in individual, communal and national affairs, b) they afforded the convenience of treating these affairs by the opposition of real and new ideas to erroneous and false ones, giving the lie through public and equitable reasons to secret and iniquitous reasons, denouncing and repressing individual, communal and national injustices — so, only the INTERNATIONAL CONSTITUTION, the more so because scientific, can end the barbarous anarchy of national independences and of continual international wars, because, A) it gives to every man and woman in proportion to the forces of mind, body and wealth possessed by them and by their Nation, the possibility of having controlled parliamentary governmental domination in international affairs, B) it affords the convenience of treating these affairs by the opposition of real and new ideas to erroneous and false ideas, giving the lie through public and equitable reasons to secret and iniquitous reasons, denouncing and depressing international injustices.

It will be admitted that the attacked Nations, who pretended to be so civilised, had been guilty of not having even in the most recent times, banished the satanic deception of governmental divine right. They had been guilty of not having already long ago abolished the anarchy of national independences among themselves, and consequently, of not having abolished the necessity of dominating by means of wars for patriotic defence and aggrandisement. They had been guilty of not having created among themselves the legality of an international constitutional government for foreign affairs. They had been guilty of not having put an end to the necessity of dominating in foreign affairs as much as possible by means of the secret intrigues of diplomatic domination, and then by means of the disloyal compacts of victorious warlike domination.

We may admit that the aggressive Nation, who likewise pretended to be so civilised, and not any the less refined because of

its comparative youth, had been guilty — though with the attenuating circumstances of the bad example given it by the more ancient attacked Nations, and of its greater youth and less refinement — of having abused the satanic conception of governmental divine right. It had been guilty, in the anarchy of national independences and in the necessity of dominating by means of wars for patriotic defence and aggrandisement, of imitatively attempting the great war for Universal Empire. It too had been guilty of neglecting to create the legality of an international constitutional government for foreign affairs. It had erred in not having made its own domination therein possible parliamentarily and civilly, according to its own forces, as in internal affairs. It had been guilty of not having put an end to the necessity of dominating in foreign affairs by means of the secret intrigues of diplomatic domination, and then by the disloyal compacts of victorious warlike domination.

The full cure of the internal State sore and of the social evils that derived from it, will be postponed till after the full cure of the external State sore. The latter, consisting of the barbarism of national independences, that is to say, in the barbarism of anarchy abroad and in the consequent necessity of wars for patriotic defence and aggrandisement, has to be cured positively first and to be cured now — now that international communication no longer presents the same difficulties as at the time when National Constitutions were introduced.

The Ninth of the Ten Statutes of a Scientific National Constitution should become especially well known and receive the adherence of sovereigns, rendered the more complete by the shortsighted resistance of only some mentally and morally deficient Majesty.

New men will rise to government, for it becomes evident that the most horrible of wars would never have happened if there had not been, on the one side an evil intent in preparing for it, and on the other side inade-

quacy in taking steps to prevent it. It becomes clear that all the men in government who in the past years were actively or passively, evil promoters or inadequate preventers of the war, and who now accuse one another reciprocally of being solely responsible for it, must be dismissed or put aside. It becomes clear that it is dangerous to leave these same men in government — for these men, besides having no receptivity for new ideas, nor ability for the political reforms that are so urgently needed, since, as they have brought about this war either through evil intent or incompetency and have conducted it with evil intent and more or less incompetency, so they may end it with a final peace act that will be mathematically the product of their evil intents and their incompetencies.

The actual statesmen's stupid cunning arouses pity. They do not see the necessity of prosecuting the war without hysterical rage to the end of securing a wise peace. They do not see the necessity of carrying it on to remove the possibility of the aggressive Nation's victorious despotic domination, and to end it by a simultaneous and positive solution of the war problem. Instead, they become hypnotised with the folly of being obliged to carry on the war to victory, with the hope of coming by means of reciprocal massacres and the tearing away of regions and provinces, to a civilised adjustment of the Nations, which should abolish war and bring about durable peace. Their behaviour is like that of ignorant doctors who, instead of studying and discovering the real cause of an illness (the illness of war) and the real cure to be made of it, both in general and in the special case (the present war), continue to cure it by old remedies as empirical as they are useless, thus endangering the life of the patient (the life of the Nations). Their conceptions overlook the fact that the people of the aggressive Nation have not been constrained to the war, but, through a vicious education, have been made accomplices in it, to such an extent that, in the case of the victory of their foes, defeat would not only be considered defeat of the sovereign, but of the

whole people. And the entire people would be inclined not to attempt to settle accounts with their own King, but to make common cause with him once more for a common revenge by all the devilish means imaginable. Their behaviour fails even to take account of the experiences of menageries, where the wild beasts may be docile until their meal appears, but ferocious enough after having sniffed and tasted it. Experience teaches us analogously that a Nation which by victory has bitten into a region or province, will not let it go for the love of peace. The behaviour of these statesmen therefore, is shrewdly but idiotically confusing. For certainly it would be a fatal error to end the war without solving the war problem, and to let conditions remain more or less as before. Even children can see that if the war is not ended before a final victory has been secured, infernal revenge rather than an adjustment for permanent peace will be the subject most spoken of. The behaviour of these folk, in short, confirms the fact of their evil intents and of their greater or less inadequacy. It discloses their determination — not to displease Kings — to preserve at least a part of their own autocracies — to postpone to a distant future the INTERNATIONAL CONSTITUTION, which would soon settle all these questions — to leave things, after the war, more or less as they are, excepting with the added advantages of victory for themselves and the disadvantages of defeat for the most aggressive Nation.

It will be agreed that the most horrible of wars — thenceforth outlining itself as THE GREAT WAR OF GREAT IGNORANCE — in order to come to a satisfactory end and to conclude in such way as would never lead to its repetition, should not *end either militarily or diplomatically, nor by means of violences or intrigues*. It should end in a new way, worthy of the times which have been dishonoured by it, and which finally rise against it. It should not end by *the usual peace treaty but in a scientific and legal way, by the institution of the true INTERNATIONAL, really productive of the impossibility of its recurrence*.

And therefore the new rulers of the attacked Nations — will be delighted not to be obliged, like the actual ones, to run hither and thither for the sake of making speeches, useless to their hearers but precious to their enemies, who draw from them councils for action. They will be delighted not to be obliged to run to and fro for the buffoonery of meetings, visits, toasts and good wishes for victory, to which they are impelled by their numerous INTER-ALLY Conferences — Conferences made necessary by the need of providing, as well as may be, for unified military action during the war without displeasing their sovereigns. That is to say, they avoided as long as possible the INTERNATIONAL CONSTITUTION, which would have created real military unity, would have aroused really civilised enthusiasms and really produced victory, but would have put an end to all autocracies whether of the aggressive or attacked Nations. These new rulers will be enchanted not to be obliged to go about, like the actual ones, plotting here and there measures for economically overpowering the enemy now, and also during the famous durable peace after the war. They will be overjoyed to be able to repudiate those miserable war solutions for which, undaunted by the horrors of war, the actual ones have groped, calling them by the usual peace formulae — exactly as if things should remain as they were before the war, to the good fortune of wars to come.

The new rulers of the attacked Nations will be happy indeed to be able to enter upon the very smooth and beautiful constitutional way. A way which could have been adopted by the attacked Nations from the very beginning of the war — if their former rulers had had a human sense of repentance for their own faults, had felt human sorrow for the unhappy destiny which overtook the aggressive Nation and had felt human love for this great and unhappy people's need of aid, rather than of defeat, by offering them the treasures which are to be found upon this constitutional way. This way would have been adopted from the beginning of the war, if the earlier rulers had not been prevent-

ed from seeing and taking it — prevented by Their Majesties' tentacles, prevented by burgher opportunism, prevented by Christian hypocrisy, prevented by the ordure of governmental ignorance.

And entering upon this smooth and beautiful way, which was already marked out, the new rulers : —

1) between them, with the consent of the most modern among the Kings, will liquidate the anarchical and barbarous royal autocracies. Their Majesties should be, in fact, so well persuaded, that they even aid the conversion of that residuum of the microcephalous, who would feel uncomfortable if they were not obliged to curve their backs as subjects (the Nation could be maternally and beautifully represented, according to the last of the Ten Statutes) to the puppet of a Constitutional King, whether he be intellectual or idiotic, evil or benignant, straight or crooked, or however he might have come from the genital urinary organs ;

2) between them and their Allies they will create a provisional INTERNATIONAL CONSTITUTION — abolishing their anarchical and barbarous national independence — allowing each of the internationally constituted Nations a number of Plenipotentiaries in the proportion that we have already seen — using their national armies as a provisional collective INTERNATIONAL ARMY — thus *giving birth to international legality* ;

3) they will arrange that their respective Plenipotentiaries, forming a provisional true INTERNATIONAL, should begin to meet in an INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY, for the purpose of legally organising the INTERNATIONAL, and for treating their respective international affairs. These Plenipotentiaries should proclaim the *great dilemma* in regard to the war : Either immediate consent on the part of the adversaries to enter the INTERNATIONAL CONSTITUTION, with Plenipotentiaries in proportion to their forces, first of all to treat the war conflicts legally, (a treatment which should proceed simultaneously with the prosecution

of the war, so that the one, because of its civilised domination of forces, might render the other useless, and thus end the war in a civilised way). Or vigorous prosecution of the war for the purpose of obliging the adversaries to enter the INTERNATIONAL CONSTITUTION, constraining them by every imaginable means of coercion and destruction, since the peoples of these inimical Nations, by refusing to enter into the INTERNATIONAL CONSTITUTION, really would show themselves to be the true barbarians. Barbarians who would cause the external State sore — that is, the barbarous anarchy of national independences and the consequent necessity of foreign wars — to continue. Barbarians who should be sterilised, like malignant microbes. Barbarians the battles against whom, would be true and holy, civilised, enthusiastic and victorious battles, not interested, barbarous and artificial such as are those waged, not for the purpose of establishing the INTERNATIONAL, but for destroying Prussian militarism, while awaiting a future Society of Nations to appear perhaps, according to the famous arbitration of ignorant pacifism;

4) they will cause — by this their suppression of anarchical barbarism abroad — civilisation, which hitherto, even though suffering from tyrannical despotism, has existed only in the interior of States, *to begin to exist also abroad.*

The true INTERNATIONAL thus barely sketched out will grow by the adherence of neutral Nations. It will fascinate the neutral Nations, and convert the aggressive Nation, so much so as to induce it to dare to do what otherwise it would never have dared to do and thus to merit an oblivion of its faults, which was indispensable in order that the functioning of the INTERNATIONAL might begin at its height of civilised equity. It will impose itself over the few Nations that still might pretend to remain independent and oblige them to submit to international government, that is, to form part of the INTERNATIONAL CONSTITUTION. It will constrain them to submit to government, as every national government constrains its riotous individuals.

The solution of all the confused war conflicts — achieved much better by means of a civilised domination of forces in the INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY than by the violence of war and diplomatic intrigues — will make evident the fact that the time has come to *take them away from the hands of soldiers and diplomats.* They will be taken over definitely by the elected International Plenipotentiaries. These, proclaiming in National Assembly the complete and civilised advent of the true INTERNATIONAL — and now providing fully for the whole of its immense legal organisation, including the formation of the reduced INTERNATIONAL ARMY — will settle the details of the now ended war, by calm, pondered, public exercise of the INTERNATIONAL'S parliamentary function of treating international affairs.

They will regulate these affairs through the creation of successive international laws and rights — through decisions, which can be accepted by the unsuccessful Plenipotentiaries without the shame and rancour of defeat, and which can be serenely accepted by them in the same way as the verdicts of majorities are accepted every day by minorities in National and Communal Assemblies. For, like these, they have publicly exposed their reasons and, like these, there still remains before them the perennial possibility of becoming in turn the majority and of thus enjoying a civilised rather than warlike revenge.

They will concede nationality to several would be Nations, whose pretensions formerly, while international anarchy persisted, were absurd and, moreover, dangerous to concede. The concession of nationality has become the bitter kernel of the war, for which rivers of blood would still flow over the battlefields and rivers of talk over the green table in the reunion hall where would meet the diplomats charged with making the new peace treaty. The concession of nationality — a subject which caused so many follies to be uttered about the concept of the Nation and, in particular, the folly which declared that peoples should have the free right to

constitute themselves into a Nation — will become the easy affair of the INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY. Here many more nationalities will be created than could formerly have been imagined, for it will be understood — in the light of Positive Science of Government, and especially through the last explanation added to the Ten Statutes — that too great an extension of boundaries loosens the bonds between rulers and ruled and is first cause of the putrid formation of the internal State sore. The moral superiority and general prosperity in the past of small Nations in comparison with great ones is thereby explained. With the coming of the INTERNATIONAL CONSTITUTION, the internal anarchy — which obliged every Nation to preserve itself from the danger of being conquered, by itself conquering and reducing to the smallest possible number the independent Nations capable of conquest — will disappear.

Moreover, several large Nations, recognising themselves as being made up of peoples who, because of language, sentiment and customs, are more unlike than the peoples forming other distinct Nations, will find it natural and convenient to detach from themselves this or that region which seem fit to constitute a separate Nation and to be bound thereto by spontaneous political ties, by means of which, in the INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY, they could exercise better and more vigorous concordant political action.

The already existing and the newly created small Nations will not be obliged to submit, as in the past, to the shame of being protected by the large ones, of being kept by them. In the INTERNATIONAL they acquire the dignity of their own life — a weaker life than that of the large Nations who have a greater number of Plenipotentiaries, but one capable, nevertheless, of becoming even stronger in the INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY than theirs, by means of their persuasive oratory, or by the attractiveness of their aims to many other small or even large Nations.

Colonies will become Nations — not independent, for now no Nation is that, but no

longer dominated and made still more barbarous by this or that Mother-Fatherland, which has been, though with a pretence of conferring civilisation, their hypocritical and ferocious exploiter, and then their frightened courtier full of promises, of fraternally federal concessions — promises stimulated not by love but only by the danger incurred during the great war of seeing these colonies rebel and claim an inimical independence. Colonies, therefore, will become Nations participating in the INTERNATIONAL and dominated and civilised by the INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY. This Assembly will prescribe by law: — which of their affairs should be communal and which national, in homage to local liberty; and which should be international, in the interests of the colonies' own real civilisation, in the interests of the Nations having dominion over them in the INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY, and in the collective interest of the whole of humanity. All of which concessions will not prevent those colonies that genuinely feel grateful and affectionate toward the former Mother-Fatherland, from maintaining close relations with it, in the INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY — ties which, as voluntary ones, will be better than the earlier enforced unions. Thus also, as dignified Nations instead of as abased colonies, they will be able to share with it a community of international political action.

Briefly, eventual conflicts among States will cease to cause war, because international anarchy is at an end and the civilised domination of the Nations begins. From now on disputes are settled —

1) by sentences of International Courts of Justice — Courts composed of supreme Judges nominated according to the IXth of the Ten Statutes — if the subject of conflict is regulated by international laws already issued from the INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY;

2) by new international laws, emanating from the INTERNATIONAL PLENIPOTENTIARIES, if the subject of conflict has not been regulated by already issued international

laws and requires new international political decisions to regulate it.

Nevertheless, as legality among the citizens of a Nation does not exclude the possibility of some of them, in case of conflict, rebelling against the national government by means of a national revolution, so legality among the Nations of the INTERNATIONAL does not exclude the possibility that some of them may, in case of conflict, rebel by means of an international revolution — withdrawing from the INTERNATIONAL, their own Plenipotentiaries and their own arms and militia and attempting a revolutionary movement against the Nations that remain united in it — a revolutionary movement bearing no comparison, as we saw, with the barbarism of war.

But — as National Constitutions, the less they were based upon empirical principles and the less false they were, the more they reduced national revolutions to rare cases of conflict, condemned to probable failure — so the INTERNATIONAL CONSTITUTION, based upon scientific principles, reduces the possibility of international revolutions to very rare cases of conflict, condemned to more than probable failure —

1) because, with the INTERNATIONAL, every Nation, however small — having a voice in the INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY — can not as formerly be over-powered by secret arts of diplomacy or by arbitrary declarations of war — but can, by means of its Plenipotentiary or Plenipotentiaries, expose its reasons publicly, have the support of such and such Plenipotentiaries of other Nations, besides that of fully informed public opinion, and thus have no cause for useless revolutions;

2) because, like the citizens of Nations, the Nations of the INTERNATIONAL can have no more arms than are permitted them by the INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY, so that, for revolutionary purposes, they have to count upon those that can be procured at the time — by their own genius which if capable of so much, will show them to be authorised by world destiny to dare a revolutionary movement

for domination — if incapable of so much, will persuade them to respect international legality and by this means exercise their own share of international domination.

The civilising of less refined peoples has only been possible, as history shows, through the governmental domination of more civilised conquering peoples — and therefore it must be admitted that for this reason wars were often beneficial. The civilising of peoples who were less refined than their conquerors, through no fault of their own, was practicable only by means of putting the mark of subjection on the foreheads of the conquered. From now on all peoples have a greater or less but, at any rate, associated national existence and international representation, very much preferable to the old anarchical, barbarous and illusory national independences. There is therefore nothing humiliating in the fact that a Nation less refined in matters of government, should voluntarily call from other Nations men and women known as experts in government, to form part of its own internal government, even as in the preceding times of conquered subjection the people from the conquering Nations have not disdained calling to form part of their religious, artistic, trade, professional or commercial culture men or women of the subjected races known as experts in these matters. The difficulty of civilising a country's inhabitants — which often lay in the fact that its rulers needed to be civilised first, and also in the fact that this could only happen with the shame of the Nation falling under the domination of a more civilised foreign government — will be overcome by the advent of the true INTERNATIONAL.

Thus the dream of Universal Empire, conceived by the small minds and colossal egotisms of ancestors, vanishes before the civilised experiment made by individuals, who passed from barbarous anarchy among themselves to the civilised State of Tribe; by Tribes that passed from barbarous anarchy among themselves, to the civilised State of City; by Cities that passed from barbarous anarchy among themselves to the civilised

State of Kingdom, by Kingdoms that passed from barbarous anarchy among themselves to the civilised State of Empire. The dream of Universal Empire, which the small minds and colossal egotisms of earlier men had conceived in the darkness of the despotic or empirical and falsely representative governments of their time, will vanish. The dream of Universal Empire, which was all that the small minds and colossal egotisms of these ancestors were able to conceive as the cure for the external State sore, will vanish. The gross dream of Universal Empire vanishes, because the pure logic of the true INTERNATIONAL takes its place and is given concrete form within the walls that rise to receive it — within the walls of the INTERNATIONAL CITY, THE WORLD CITY, THE CITY OF HUMANITY.

If the idea of Universal Empire had not been a dream but could have been made real, the Capital of the Empire become Universal would have concentrated universal movement in itself, and would naturally have become Universal City, that is, centre of universal legality, centre of universal affairs, centre of universal civilisation. But, as the pure logic of a true INTERNATIONAL opposes itself to such a dream, it is equally natural that no national capital could be transformed into an INTERNATIONAL CITY, for this would give it advantages and would cast disadvantages upon the other national capitals that participate in the INTERNATIONAL. It is natural that the Nations forming the INTERNATIONAL, in enacting the INTERNATIONAL CONSTITUTION should — choose a place most accessible to them all — internationalise it — submit it to the civil and military authorities which the INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY nominates and to the laws which this ASSEMBLY issues, or which they adopt from the nearest State, for the co-existence of its inhabitants — should thus, in fact, found the authoritative INTERNATIONAL seat.

And in considering the choice of site, it is natural that Belgium should appear as of very great value. Here occurred the first miracle of heroic resistance, which, giving the unprepared attacked Nations time to

prepare themselves, prevented the victorious domination under which humanity would have fallen and retrogressed. This heroic resistance thus smoothed the road for the glorious advent of the true INTERNATIONAL. There were already many reasons in favour of such a choice, such as those of accessibility for all the Nations, since it lies near to France, to Germany, to England, and is connected with all the oversea countries. And there was the reason of Belgium's priority in earlier attempts at concentrating civilised international relations. But the principal reason for this choice is that of honouring the heroic Belgian people. No oath that « the old Belgium should be repaired, restored and not allowed to suffer permanently from the invasion of her freedom », no attestation of gratitude, no stereotyped verbose praises could be worth this homage that unified humanity would render to Belgium. And the aggressive Nation's people, which will become converted, in the joy of the INTERNATIONAL'S advent — and better than any other having had occasion to prove Belgian greatness — also will feel that so high an honour is due to this small yet noble people.

But, whether this or another site should be chosen as seat for the INTERNATIONAL, upon the site first of all will rise two supreme buildings — that of INTERNATIONAL Legislation, where the INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY, constituting the supreme international political authority, will sit — and that of INTERNATIONAL Justice, to house the Courts of INTERNATIONAL Justice, which constitute the supreme international judiciary authority.

Near these two supreme edifices, then, gradually will arise buildings for the INTERNATIONAL ARMY — offices for the international functionaries — palaces for the representatives of the Nations — structures for local civil and military authorities — for banks — for all the professionals and industrials requisite for carrying on international affairs and who were obliged to be near the seat of international government — hotels and houses for the comfortable living of the people in

all these offices, which thus together will form the walls of the INTERNATIONAL, the structure of the WORLD CITY. This City, thus no longer a dream of poets and philanthropists, will grow as all cities in the past grew, because of the affluence of peoples and the concentration of interests there where a nucleus of men imposed themselves with forces of governmental domination. It will become the centre of common international civilisation and, consequently, of science, of art, of education. It will become the goal whither converge all the ideas of humanity — ideas which, developed in the City, pass out again towards all humanity. And we may say that this idea of a World Centre is no longer only a prophecy, the projections of the idealistic imagination. It has been concretised and planned, prepared, modelled and arranged by architects and artists, so that nothing remains but the word of the world, the concurrence of the dominating intelligence of humanity to bring it into actual being. It realises, in short, the admirable plan prophesied and designed by the seeing spirit of an American, the American Hendrik Christian Andersen.

Laws of international politics and sentences of international justice will be the highest spheres in which international legality begins to dominate over the peoples of humanity and finally to produce the beauty of a true world civilisation.

But, if one thinks of — Boundaries and Frontiers — Submarine Cables — Post, Telegraph and Telephone — Timetables — Weights and Measures — Monetary Agreements — Tunnels — Railroads — Navigation and Aviation — Copyright — Trade-marks — Patents — Public Hygiene — Customs Tariffs — Industrial Production — International Terminology — the White Slave Trade and the Protection of Young Girls — International Statistics — Exploration — Official Documents — Consular Jurisdiction — Passports — Arrests — Extradition — Rogatory of the Sentenced — Verification of Notary and Death Documents — the Red Cross — Works of Art —

Fisheries and Hunting — Contraband — Repatriation of Expelled Paupers and of Foundlings — Witnesses and Experts — Verification of Societies — Legalisation of Public Acts — Antiphylloxera Conventions — Free Advocacy — Harbour Inspection — Exchange of Legislative Publications — Exchange of Civil Deeds — Agreements for Cattle and Agricultural Product Transit — Exchange of Census Data — Aid to the Indigent and Sick — War and Peace Hague Conventions — Geodetic Conventions — Conventions for Marriage, Divorce and Tutelage of Minors — Verification of Heirs — Succession Settlements — Hospital Ships Conventions — International Institute of Agriculture Conventions — Sea Exploration Conventions — Agreements for Arbitration Tribunals — Obscene Publications — Alcoholic Drinks — Measures against Opium — Seismology Stations — Missionaries — Indemnities and Assistance to the Shipwrecked — Preservation of certain Species of Animals — Use of Saccharine and Analogous Substances — Automobile Circulation — Emigration and the Legal Protection of Labourers — if one thinks of all this troop of collective interests for which, in the times of still persisting international anarchy and increasing international communication, the governments of the various Nations have been obliged to provide by means of agreements, without authoritative legal force — one can understand how vast will be the other spheres in which international legality will begin to develop by legislative and administrative international measures. Let us remember that every Nation has been obliged, without authoritative legal force, to treat each one of these affairs directly with the other Nations, by means of proposals, answers, difficulties and replies regarding treaties, conferences, conventions, agreements. Moreover imagine the waste of energy involved and the scarcity of results in comparison with the saving of energies and the magnificence of the results obtained through a concentration of all these international measures in the legal and authoritative attributions of the INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

Nor is this all. There is also the troop of private international activities which, in spite of the persisting international anarchy and the falsity of National Constitutions, scholars, industrials and peoples felt to be indispensable for their growing need of human unity, and which the easy means of communication now made possible. There are the Scientific Institutes in general — Bibliographical Institutes — Press and Periodical Associations — Academy of Academies — Medical Associations and Congresses — Psychical Research Societies — Moral Culture Unions — Religious Associations and Congresses — Sociological Institutes — Labour Organisations — Cooperation and Mutuality Leagues — Free Trade Congresses — Law Leagues and Congresses — Astronomical Associations — Administrative Sciences Congresses — Popular Education Bureaus and Institutions — Chambers of Commerce Congresses — Philological Societies — Physics and Electricity Societies — Chemistry Societies — Geological Societies — Anthropological Societies — Biological Societies — Botany and Zoology Societies — Artist and Engineer Associations — Agricultural Societies — Zootechnical, Hunting and Fishing Societies — Domestic Economy Societies — Stenography Societies — Topographical Societies — Waterways Societies — Book-Keeping Societies — Chemical Industries Societies — Manufactures and Crafts Societies — Historical and Geographical Societies — Fine Art Societies — Societies for Sports. There is this other troop of private international activities, which — scorned by the cannibalistic preparations for that most horrible war — before its outbreak were here and there developed by scholars, industrials and peoples, in wandering, disorganised, discordant meetings, accordings as opportunities offered, and which can now be permanently, organically and concordantly developed in the INTERNATIONAL. THE INTERNATIONAL CITY consequently, by the force of legality, in a short time will become not only the centre of international affairs, but the true centre of human civilisation, for which the whole world is preparing.

All this miracle of civilisation will be possible because the light of a true Science of Government revealed the fact that the cure of the external State sore, the barbarism of Kingdom, Republic and Empire independences, i. e., the barbarism of their anarchical non-State, could not end in the old unscientific way, by the expansion of the legal organisation of these Kingdoms, Republics and Empires into a single Universal Empire. *Universal Monarchy*, in the light of the Positive Science of Government, showed itself for what it was — a dangerous poetic fancy and a brigandly kingly lust. It has become evident that the decadence of Empires, civilisations and races was the result of treating the external sore in this way. It also has become evident that the cure of this sore, the cessation of the barbarous anarchy among Kingdoms, Republics and Empires, and of their internal wars for patriotic defence and aggrandisement, can only come about by a new arrangement of forces — only by achieving truly amplified civilisation — only by giving an INTERNATIONAL CONSTITUTION to all the States and by organising them into the State of INTERNATIONAL.

Therefore the true INTERNATIONAL will triumph, consecrating the fact that the last war has been THE GREAT WAR OF GREAT IGNORANCE.

And the benefits derived from this true INTERNATIONAL will not cease, but spread to the whole of humanity — as a reparation for all the brutalities suffered during the last war — as an apotheosis of all those soldiers killed or mutilated in it — as shame to all those leeches of business men who scandalously profited by it — as accusation of all those statesmen who conspired to make the great war end in a GREAT TRICK, that is, in the usual way, by another underhand peace treaty, calculated only to imitate afresh the mockery of reducing armaments and of obligatory arbitration.

The coming of this true INTERNATIONAL will have for humanity the importance of a true new era, and humanity indeed will be-

gin to make *a true and common numeration of years* from the first day of its advent.

International Law will cease being a fantastic and immutable professorial stupidity, having become an authoritative and mutable imposition of International legislators.

People will laugh when thinking of those statesmen of past times, whose monuments still encumber the high roads and who governed when foreign politics were still a farcical and sanguinary affair. In those times the handling of foreign affairs fell, in fact, first to the shrewd disloyalty of diplomatists, then to the heroic sacrifice of soldiers. The latter knew perhaps nothing about foreign affairs, but — when called upon to handle them on an arduous battle-field, in the place of their ambassadors and ministers of Foreign Affairs, who were only good at entangling affairs in their commodious offices — they were obliged by law to lend themselves thereto as patriotic soldiers. And this they did. Great were the sacrifices they made, regardless of the encomiums of their bravery which ambassadors and ministers of Foreign Affairs — looking from afar through opera glasses upon the scenes of the theatre of war, that is, upon devastated fields heaped with corpses — addressed to them in rhetorical speeches, to which all the patriotic magnates who had stayed at home looking after their own affairs, provided a chorus.

The soldiers of the International Army — unlike those of the earlier royal and national armies, who were the instruments of inhuman aggression, at the service of rulers who exploited them and urged them to heroic sacrifices by a deceptive play upon the sacred word « Fatherland » — will be sentinels of the coercive compact of legal human union, sentinels of the coercive compact of the INTERNATIONAL CONSTITUTION.

The several Nations' gigantic warships and airships will be — in part, turned over to the International Militia and appointed to travel the seas under the international flag, for ensuring the observance of international

laws — in part, stripped of their cannons and appointed to travel the seas under their national flags, for the purpose of extending commerce and civilisation, much better than could be done before.

The INTERNATIONAL FLAG, created as symbol of the Nations' union, will keep visibly and perennially a space for the new nationalities which the INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY has always the power to create.

The phrase « *human brotherhood* » has often caused a smile when uttered. But with the INTERNATIONAL it becomes a possible fact, because it has there its seat and its command.

The internal State sore, consisting in the arbitrariness of despotism and in the consequent necessity of tyrannies in the interior, (which the empirical constitutional unguent had certainly assuaged but made fetid) — now that the external sore has fully recovered, can also be wholly cured. Because the governmental science which serves the INTERNATIONAL CONSTITUTION, will penetrate also into National Constitutions — purify them of all the Chaotic Period's dross of arbitrary despotism and intrigues — ennoble them by equitable laws of representative domination, upon the basis of which parties will be clarified, and socialism, ceasing to be egotistic, polemical, doctrinary and opportunistic will become altruistic and concrete, if capable of being so.

And the day when the internal State sore also is cured and disappears — that day of human glory and of liberation from the infinitude of evils that this sore has produced — will be commemorated by all the Nation in a collective monument to the man who, for thousands of years, kept it open and fetid in all the States. With the money made by the sale of all the ugly statues to royalty that for centuries disfigured the streets and squares of cities in all countries, the Nations will erect in the INTERNATIONAL this monument of colossal proportions to the baneful man — in the centre, he, the grim, rapacious, sanguinary and obscene man, the King, drunk, with

his crown crooked, and in his hands the emblems of his power by divine right — at the sides of the monument four groups, representing his chief creations: misery, charity, prostitution, crime.

Americans, the most deceptive error in the declaration and conduct of the war, has been the belief that its solution could be the usual one of utilitarian peace. The greatest difficulty in finding an exit from the war lies precisely in this: that instead of seeking an unusual way of ending and solution, suited to the fact that this war developed under abnormal conditions and by abnormal means — for unusual cases, unusual remedies — people continue to circle around the customary ideas of peace, themselves incapable of providing the solution, and continue to postpone until after a consequently impossible peace the new radical adjustment of the Nations, that should first be sought for, since in this direction is the only true and worthy way of exit to be found.

This absurd conduct of the men who on one side or on the other are at the head of the belligerent Nations, certainly shows the narrow egotistical intention of ending the war to their own advantage, thinking it problematical — or intending to make it so — whether after the war the so often promised and repromised international adjustment will be made. But there is also the fact that radical solutions, such as are needed in order to give the Nations a new civilised adjustment, demand minds free from prejudice, in the present case free from the sins of royalty and from imperialistic lusts; minds capable of the superhuman energy which the case demands. And this is the supreme reason of our appeal to you, Americans, who, being already a people freer from prejudices, are in this case also free from royal and imperial sins and capable of the superhuman efforts needed to lead to the INTERNATIONAL CONSTITUTION, and to the creation of the International Centre of Communication. — This, while it is really a great and worthy way of exit from the war, is at the same time an open road toward humanity's true civil progress.

Such true progress will be impossible till humanity has once for all been purged of the political prejudices which, existing abundantly in European States, are also to some extent to be found in your own American States, since you carried them over with you in the customs you received from the higher classes of Europe. The fact of your being a people originally descended from workers certainly makes your minds less contorted and less inclined to sophistry. But take care, however. Because of your excusable fault of having been too much absorbed in forming for yourselves a rich basis for existence; because of your excusable fault of having had to accept blindly a great deal of Europe's morality, that is, to receive without having time to discuss them many ideas from the fields of science and religion, of family and of art; because of your excusable fault of not having been able, consequently, to become sublime and paramount in those old prejudiced fields as you have become in the virgin ones of mechanics and electricity; because of all these your excusable faults, there is a great deal of empiricism in your political institutions — even in your Monroe Doctrine itself — unworthy of your new and positive understanding of life. And this will make the effort on behalf of which we appeal to you the greater; the effort of becoming the leaders in this new and great civil enterprise: the INTERNATIONAL CONSTITUTION.

Americans, the effort required to reach this goal is titanic, and it is natural that you should become its centre of propulsion and through your impulse, unite, save and enrich the States of the Earth.

To be the propelling centre of such an immense effort, which shall give to this horrible war an extraordinarily noble solution, and turn humanity toward *true civil progress*, this, O Americans, is the great and glorious task to which destiny calls you and for which your intervention is indispensable — a solution fine enough to win forgiveness for the war as having been a calamity without which the attainment of so much good would have been impossible.

The time is past when one conquering State can moralise and civilise the rest. The elevated consciences of peoples are today such that new morals and a better civilisation can only be the result of international impulses flowing from the heart of the most cosmopolitan and freest people towards those of all other peoples and thence again to this heart. You are the most cosmopolitan and freest people. You, therefore, are predestined — with hearts throbbing, to give the first impulse toward the new human morality and civilisation — and to be responded to by the throbbing hearts of all other peoples. It is for you to attract those who have most genius in the various Nations, to call to your side those who are longing to blend their innovating fecundity with your own, and to raise yourselves in all Nations, together with them, as guides of governments and of humanity — by modern rather than by mediaeval domination; by moral rather than by conquering or imperialistic dominations; by the domination of new ideas and human abnegations that have not a foreign but a cosmopolitan character, while at the same time retaining an American charm.

Since, briefly, one Nation's turn of greatness was lost to it — a turn of economic and moral domination, which seemed durable and which would have been durable if the people who created it by marvellous work had not been betrayed with *real high treason* — since this turn failed, Americans, if able to grasp it, your turn has come for true greatness. Not that of the past — the rapacious and barbaric greatness of regional boundaries. That of the new era — the legal and civil greatness of human ties, by which civilisation begins to take the whole Earth as basis; ceases to be local, dwarfed hypocritical, farcical as it has been till our times.

May the magnificent work of salvation, which humanity so urgently needs — in the midst of such shameful barbarism and such cruel massacres — be promoted by you with strength, with generosity, with all that electrical energy which is yours and for which the world admires you.

In the sublime task before you, O Americans, lies everybody's salvation — even your own, for over you hangs the catastrophe of decadence, which would be brought about first of all by the armaments made necessary in greater numbers than those of Europe. «I hate war», said one of your ex-Presidents in presenting his candidacy at the last elections, «but the only way of avoiding it is actively to prepare for it». After what has been said, it is to be hoped that you do not believe this to be the only way. Germany also said that it actively prepared for war in order to avoid it. This was a conventional way of speaking and signified «in order to make it».

In the task before you, O Americans, there is the same nobility and purity as lay in the task which moved your Puritan Fathers when they set sail towards your uncorrupted soil. Fulfil it with the same pride that so many of your noted people have shown since the beginning of the war by sending public messages of sympathy and expressions of solidarity to the attacked nations. Fulfil it with the pride that ran through your President's words and acts. But fulfil it without vague aspirations, without vague protests, without vague and illusory hopes of peace. Fulfil your task, O Americans, in a *positive* way; so that the present calamity really cannot be repeated, and that this may be ensured by the *only real guarantee*, that of *constitutional law*.

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PART II

A WORLD CENTRE OF COMMUNICATION

ECONOMIC ADVANTAGES

A REPORT COMPILED

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CHAPTER I.

A WORLD CITY, A PRACTICAL IDEAL.

The thought of a city that should develop and perfect humanity is as old as civilisation. But the conception has changed with the changing ages.

Plato in his *Republic* dreams of a city of perfect justice. In it the wise men, the philosophers, would make and enforce the laws and, guided by their wisdom and the perfect morality springing from their wisdom, would so govern as to facilitate the greatest possible happiness for all. And yet Plato's perfect city state contemplated only freedom of thinking and acting for the favoured intellectual few. The great masses were still to toil to make possible the life-giving thoughts of the philosophers.

The great Christian poet of the prophetic vision of the Revelation, had likewise his vision of the perfect city. Its perfection he pictured in material terms of streets of gold with gates of a single pearl, but to it he also attributed moral and Spiritual perfection. For the redeemed of all the earth were to be its inhabitants and, free from care, were to join in singing praises to the perfect God who had created the city for their enjoyment, and who at the same time had created an abode of horror for those of mankind controlled by their lower natures. Probably the great apocalyptic poet was picturing a city of another world. It is by no means clear, however, that his perfect city was not intended to be merely a city of the future, of which the site should

be an earthly location as definite as Rome or Constantinople. In any event, the vision of this city was intended to awaken in men a desire for a better and nobler life which should lead the poet's fellow-men toward a purer, more beautiful, more nearly perfect civilisation.

And again at the beginning of modern days, the Italian philosopher Campanella in his *City of the Sun*, and the great Lord Chancellor of England, Sir Thomas More, in his *Utopia*, with many others earlier and later, have given rein to their imaginations. By their pictures of an ideal city they have in turn attempted to fire mankind with nobler purposes. They have hoped that these noble purposes might work out practically through some form of civic organisation which should subdue the evil passions and stimulate the beneficent motives of individuals, that there might little by little be realised a perfecting of humanity.

Those great inventions of modern days — the steamship, the railroad, the telegraph, the telephone, which have served to bring all civilised mankind into close touch — the thought and purpose of each being instantaneously given to his fellow half the world around — have broadened the conception of this city, which should be an uplifting force for all humanity. Almost from the date of the publication of Hugo Grotius' great work on *War and Peace* in 1625, the minds of think-

ing men have been turned toward the idea of world unity. This unity should not spring from a world domination like that of ancient Rome, nor from purely ideal conceptions like those of the poet philosophers. It should be practical. It should be capable of ultimate realisation through the development of the idea of justice among nations and arrangements made between the rulers of different states. Influenced by these ideas, the great philosopher, Immanuel Kant, even before the day of modern inventions, had dreamed of a form of organisation and communion between states which should lead to perpetual peace.

Again, it is the pen of a poet, Alfred Tennyson, painting pictures of the future, which has made common to all the English-speaking races, a conception of a world unity. This new conception is not based primarily upon the idea of building throughout the world model cities, inhabited by perfect beings. It is the practical conception that through international agreements regarding political activities, modern statesmen might in fact bring about a « parliament of men, a federation of the world, » which from its very nature would do away with wars. With war abolished, the rapid growth of industry, the multiplication and diffusion of wealth, together with the moral uplift naturally resulting from such changed conditions, should lend an impulse to the development of the best in civilisation which would give us in no distant future, not indeed a Paradise like that of the vision of *Revelation*, but a greatly improved everyday world where normal human beings with their qualities of strength and weakness might dwell in happier state.

It has remained, however, for a man of our day to think out and work out the detailed plans for a World Centre of civilisation that is not merely a vision, but is practicable; that does not deal primarily with future generations but with the present one; that does not require a world wide intellectual or ethical education of the masses, but merely the studious attention of a few broad-minded statesmen. It is only necessary that these stat-

esmen be willing to give a few days of study to understand the practical methods by which the plan is to be developed, and then to take prompt action, such as they are in the habit of doing from month to month, from day to day. For this project is no more difficult than the everyday work of cutting canals, planting forests, building railroads, erecting great public buildings and planning the organisation of administrative commissions for the promotion of literature and art and science and politics.

In the first volume of the present work : « Creation of a World Centre of Communication » which has been presented to the Rulers, Parliaments, libraries and universities of the world, are found detailed descriptions and explanations of the plan conceived by the author for the World Centre and great city in which there should be brought together, for purposes of comparison and study and education and inspiration, the works, the thoughts, the associated personalities of the leading thinkers in all lines of human activity. In that volume is indicated the way in which all the qualities of mankind — physical, intellectual, artistic, moral — would be stimulated, to the great benefit of humanity. Its author has shown how, through international association within this great central city, the progress of society will be furthered and civilisation ennobled.

The purpose of the present report is less attractive, but perhaps no less necessary in bringing about the establishment of a World Centre. Business men and statesmen must be shown that the ideal is practical, that it will pay economically. No business man will care to influence his government toward the establishment of the World City, unless he sees clearly the prospect of a good return to his business and to his countrymen. No respectable minister of state will recommend to his legislature or parliament the action necessary to the cooperation of his state with others for the establishment and maintenance of such a centre, until he is convinced that the people of his state are to receive a benefit from this World Centre that will liberally

compensate them for all the effort and wealth expended.

The purpose of this report, then, is not primarily to stimulate the hope of a rapid furtherance of international justice, nor even of universal peace, although these objects may be, indeed, it is hoped they will be realised. Its aim is rather to show how international cooperation has, in the past, improved manufactures, attracted capital and labour to countries whose resources were unknown, and extended and created markets; and how the World Centre, as a focus of world science and culture and a permanent world exhibition, will produce all these effects in a higher degree. It aims to show further that the World Centre, by furnishing a central meeting place, and a central point for the collection and dissemination of information, will hasten the solution of all those problems, moral, governmental, scientific and commercial, which affect business more or less directly. The reader must look in this volume, not for an eloquent presentation of ideals, but for a compact, definite statement of facts and results.

A CLEARING HOUSE FOR THE WORLD'S BEST.

The World Centre is to be a centre of business, science and intelligence, housed in special buildings and located within the boundaries of a model city. Works of art, scientific discoveries and new inventions will be shown, thus forming an intelligent centre of ideas, methods, exchange, relations and propagandas, and a material centre of collections and of persons devoted as much to the study as to the management of affairs having a world-wide and universal character. It will be the world clearing-house for all that is best in civilisation.

The basis of material progress, both individual and national, is economic success. In the World Centre, therefore, will be held a permanent exposition illustrating the latest developments, not only in art, but also in science, agriculture, mining, manufacture,

transportation, trade and commerce. The exhibits will be kept up to date, furnishing the best possible opportunity for comparative study and a constant incentive to progress. All the best that the world knows and does will be concentrated here.

The Centre as planned embodies two distinct ideas perfectly welded and finely executed one within the other: an International Centre, situated at the heart of a model city.

This city proper will be a modern city divided into residential, business and industrial quarters, very much like other cities. But it will be so planned that daylight, electric light, air, ease of circulation, comfort and convenience, as well as hygiene and sanitation will be everywhere studied. Everything that science has done and everything that experience has taught as being of service will be incorporated in the International City.

In the stately and beautiful buildings of the centre, all human interests will have their place. Art, religion, education, jurisprudence, philosophy, all the sciences, physical culture and business, will have their halls and exhibitions, wherein may gather the best minds of the world. The nations will have their national buildings in which to present their topography, samples of their natural products, their commerce and industry, and thus aid the solid development of their prosperity.

In the field of jurisprudence we now have established several international organisations of importance, such as the Inter-Parliamentary Union and the Hague Tribunals. But we need greater concentration and more enduring effort than has yet been established. A coherent system of international law, perhaps even of criminal law, might best be planned and carried out only by a body of jurists sitting continually. Should an International Constitution finally be adopted, the International Assembly's natural seat would be in the heart of the World Centre, whose most prominent feature is a World Court of Justice.

The Temple of Religions will afford a sort of central headquarters where representatives of all religions may study religious symbols and literatures collected in its museums and libraries, and take cognisance of the truth of each system. Differences in religion are no longer the main causes of international wars with their attendant economic and social losses, but undoubtedly differences of creed and ideal still lead to suspicion and alienation. The supplementing of one another's faith, the growth of tolerance, perhaps even the establishment of a common approach to a common God, will undoubtedly lead to a closer communion of the world, to freer international intercourse and trade and to a closer cooperation for world-wide uplift and progress.

The Halls of Progress, of Philosophy, and of the Sciences, theoretical and applied, within the Centre will afford sanctuary for the scientific spirit; they will be visible symbols of human achievement, and by encouraging research and investigation into the real truth of things, will give wings to a passionate quest which will extend beyond self and nation to the world and which shall, in virtue of world-wide cooperation and study, permit discovery and the adaptation of knowledge to practical ends without waste, and so contribute to world progress.

The universal Museums of Art, Music and Literature will be veritable sources of inspiration for both the layman and the professional, forming a meeting place for the lovers of beauty. The ample opportunity afforded for study, for the display of a great work of art, or for the production of a new and unheard opera, should do much to promote these fundamental components of present-day culture, stimulating producers to greater effort by offering them an ever ready opportunity to present their work before the world's best juries, and to have it circulated thence, when so desired, through the leading cities of the world.

The Centre for Physical Culture will unite all efforts toward physical perfection. Tak-

ing athletics out of the hands of professional speculators, its aim will be to gather all knowledge that will help toward the rational development of the human body and to offer not only a vast meeting ground for world athletics, but also facilities for the training of teachers who shall set higher standards and carry back to all parts of the world the results of the best thought and effort from every country.

The Institution of Higher Learning will answer a growing need: that of international education, taking into account all parts of the world in their relation to one another. It will afford an opportunity for gathering together, coordinating and diffusing the results of scientific investigation carried on in any part of the world, and will form a centre of unification for knowledge and a point of departure for new progress.

Moreover, it will afford opportunity for the educationalists of the world to meet, exchange ideas, compare scholastic systems and devise methods for answering the needs of the increasing masses of the Earth's population, who multiply with such rapidity that to combat ignorance and adequately to supply instruction has become one of the greatest problems of the age.

From such a Centre, open moreover to students and graduates from all national institutions by a system, as it were, of irrigation, the experience and constructive efforts of the best minds in all nations will flow back into the universities, colleges and schools of every country, however far removed from the Centre, facilitating, with an immense saving of time, labour and money, the ever changing and urgent problem of keeping pace with the people's need for education.

In the field of business the World Centre will serve with even greater effectiveness. There is no doubt but that the problems of capital and labour are rapidly becoming the acutest of our age and are tending to absorb all other economic and political issues. As they arise, they inevitably assume a more or

less international character. The problems of transport, communication, foreign exchange, marketing, finance, banking, insurance and the like, are also becoming of international import and can no longer be handled strictly on a national basis. In fact, many business activities are now represented by international associations or gatherings and many more need only a slight impulse to effect similar organisations. Their efforts, like their headquarters, are not centralised, and their work is not always the most efficient.

At the same time, the consciousness of their common interest has drawn workers together. They have become aware of the necessity for cooperation; means of communication and widely diffused information have tended to standardisation and today there is slowly emerging a truly international class of men, who follow employment the world over, who mine gold now in America, now in Australia, who follow the sun from hemisphere to hemisphere, harvesting the crops both north and south of the equator, who are equally at home in Italy or Argentina, and who are gradually losing every trace of specific nationality but the name. Thus capital on the one side and labour on the other, are rapidly broadening in significance until today their reciprocal position has become an issue as vital as the lives of nations themselves, and containing, if not satisfactorily expressed and determined, a grave danger for civilisation. The World Centre will provide a spot where problems of labour and the more specific questions of communication, finance, and the marketing of products can be best discussed by competent men who will endeavour to find satisfactory and equitable solutions.

This Centre will be a vast clearing house of information, an international headquarters for the compilation and dissemination of information concerning all the sciences, both pure and applied, a veritable statistical centre for the world, a world research laboratory and university, a world meeting place for mind and facts in the search for greater truth and justice.

Whatever is gathered there will be permanent. For the World Centre will probably be located on neutralised territory outside the jurisdiction of any single nation and under the protection of them all. The buildings and collections housed therein will be free from attack in case of war; and no fear need be felt that the important records, libraries and exhibitions of art and natural history, whose permanence is so desirable, will be destroyed by invading armies. The stability of the city and of all the work housed therein will thus be guaranteed. The assurance of such permanency should lead to greater efforts towards assembling information and material available for the promotion of the world's progress, and should ultimately result in the establishment of the world's greatest collection of material for human knowledge.

This concentration of the elements of progress will realise an ideal toward which man has struggled throughout his history. From time immemorial, man and nature have been waging a conflict—man, weak and helpless in respect to physical power, and nature, a group of unflinching and irresistible forces. But man has learned to use nature; his intelligence enabling him to direct her forces. He toils in the earth in order to produce food, he builds himself cover, from clay or wood or stone, and erects temples unto the deities whose anger he desires to avert, and whose esteem he aims at wooing.

Religion, science, invention, art, music, the drama, architecture, literature and the movement toward physical and mental education as well, have been by-products of man's instinctive and intelligent reaction to his environment. The primitive wants which have guided him in this struggle with nature have led to modern civilisation.

Soterios Nicholson in a book entitled: «*The World City of Civilisation*,» traces this process of the unifying of human endeavour to the next logical step — the creation of a World Centre, where in physical space and time human forces can meet. He points

out that, from the beginning, man has been forced, in his conflict with external, natural forces, to collect available forces and systematise their employment. Thus has proceeded the slow and patient movement toward human organisation, united efforts and cooperative action. « Families, tribes, nations — spiritual and secular hierarchies, cities and states, all forms of political groupings in fact, have been steps in the progression ». Existing differences should not be submerged with the end of producing a uniform type, but, on the contrary, these differences should be coordinated in terms of a common aim and a true unity realised through the cooperation in equal degree of each constituent part in the whole.

Human forces must be concentrated against the forces of nature; we can no longer be obsessed by the fallacious conviction that man is his own enemy. The battle of humanity is to subdue nature and make her a ready servant in the satisfaction of our inmost and highest ideals. Bonds of sympathy and love which will cement individuals together into compact and coherent social groups must be knit; mutual jealousies and recriminations must cease to be; the wastage of human energies must be prevented. To accomplish these ends, humanity must be organised in terms of physical unity.

The physical energies of men, in other words, should be so correlated as to spend themselves in common work, with the least waste and with the largest results. Certain men have done much to bind humanity in a closer unity. They have invented the telegraph, the telephone and wireless telegraphy; they have constructed the ship to span the seas, and the locomotive to cover the land, and the postal service to reach to the ends of the earth. Why should these movements toward greater mutual approach stop where they are? — Why should not men find other and better means of drawing yet closer to their fellows, preparing the way for the day when human solidarity will be a fact and not an ideal?

Whatever affects the welfare of the various peoples is a matter of economic importance; whatever tends to hasten the concentration of the attack upon the world's problems — moral, governmental, or scientific — increases the well-being of the world. Business itself, therefore, will be an important interest of the World Centre. The Centre will provide for the study of business problems, the collection and dissemination of business information, and the furnishing of business men with the means of extending their markets. These functions of the World Centre are the main concern of this book.

CHAPTER II.

GROWTH OF INTERNATIONALISM AND NEED FOR A WORLD CENTRE.

No longer is the world's progress measured by the individual progress of the several nations considered separately. Men of many nations, and nations themselves, have united in their efforts to improve economic and social conditions, to devise ways and means of carrying out in a concerted manner, their plans for transforming all that to-day appears halting or deficient. Cooperation increases efficiency and efficiency is the ideal of the age. When men finally discovered that disease and deformity might be gradually eradicated, that they themselves might, after ages of blind groping, consciously direct the course of their own development and lend a hand to make the wheel of evolution turn more rapidly, a new era began. But conscious action by all the inhabitants of the globe would barely suffice to give the desired result. The small group now striving to direct evolution must be enlarged. Cooperation knows no territorial limits.

The past has laboriously evolved many forms of associations, local and national; some few have taken on yet broader aims. In certain instances men are now working upon a world basis, forgetting national boundaries and racial prejudices and will be obliged to do so more than ever in the future. Though the abstract ideal of a world state has apparently been neglected, world-wide cooperation in all human activities, each interest extending its influence to all corners of the globe, that is the tendency of today and the

master-word of tomorrow. Universal cooperation is filling the void between the individual and humanity left by the disappearance of the old cosmopolitical ideal. It is creating living institutions organised to meet world-wide economic and social needs.

For generations men have been accustomed to think in terms of national sovereignty. They have found in national life the ultimate end of human endeavour. Before the eighteenth century world unity was a poetic dream to be indulged in by a few impractical and somewhat unpopular philosophers. Cosmopolitanism, as the creed of a man without a country, was despised. The few who talked of the world state above and dealt with the rational individual below, found nothing and made nothing to bind so vast a structure. The old cosmopolitans, noble minded as they were, lacked true constructive force because they were not tolerant of conditions as they found them. They brought forth only a rational ideal, to which they expected their fellowmen to adhere. They did not recognise the principle that man's nature must be raised gradually through the many stages of life, finally to be turned from selfish individualism to more comprehensive aims of civilisation.

World unity is real. There is a growing consciousness of this fact in the minds of public spirited men. Our economic structure is being centralised. World's markets for

money and produce have been established. The press and the theatre are producing psychological unity. The great inventions in the field of transportation and communication have actually girdled us into a physical unity. The genius of the world and the resources of the world are no longer exclusively for the nation within whose borders they are found. Now-a-days no nation reckons them otherwise than for the world at large. Psychologically, mentally and socially, human unity is a fact. The great currents of feeling, which from time to time have passed over vast sections of the globe, the barbarian emigrations, the Crusades, the strange and amirable « wander lust » which led to the discovery of the American Continent and the sea route from Europe to the East, were not restricted to single nations. For centuries scientists, chemists and physicists in laboratories and astronomers upon mountain tops, have been linked the world over and have felt themselves bound by the knowledge that only through their united efforts could their task be crowned with success. Art, literature, commerce, philosophy, law; none are national or the product of a single nation.

Numerous scientific associations and unions, world wide in their operations, have made international organisation an accomplished fact. The number of public unions formed shows how much the nations realise the importance of international activities. A number of these unions have been listed (Appendix I), many of them having a corporate organisation through which they affect all of the functions of government.

These various associations are established in order to secure a mutuality of advantage to the citizens of the various states, to provide for a world-wide regulation of world-wide interests or to secure uniformity, either in control or in operation. In the practical and theoretical sciences, in art, in communication, in labour legislation, in the development and protection of agriculture, in the protection of use of patents, in the administration of criminal and sanitary science — in all of these fields the full advantage of in-

ternational cooperation has long been understood and an effort toward it made, since each country realised its need of the others. In these fields the sovereign state has been forced to humble itself before the advantages offered by international organisation. It is no longer believed that any isolated state can gain for its citizens all the advantages of civilisation. Nations rise and sink on the waves of time, and the crest of culture is found now in one, now in another land. Acting alone, a state cannot offer to its citizens the protection and incentive which can otherwise be obtained. In the present state of world-wide civilisation and intercourse, international cooperation is an ethical duty arising from our interdependence. And this duty is not based upon a theoretical ideal, but upon the existence of practical conditions which demand its specific action. It is therefore both necessary and permanent. The realm of international organisation is an accomplished fact.

It is largely because of the development of these international associations and, through them, of a world consciousness, that a considerable effort has been made to have the World Centre erected. Within the past fifty years there has grown up a new conception of the essential solidarity of the parts into which the human race is divided. Until recently, social action halted when it reached that synthesis which we call the nation. But now, freed from the shackles of narrow provincialism, grasping and believing in the standard of a practical world unity, men of all races and nations are harmonising and combining their efforts toward social betterment.

John Culbert Faries, in his book, *The Rise of Internationalism* (tables 1 & 2 in Appendix II are reproduced from his work), has presented graphically the extent to which international cooperation has progressed among the sovereign states of the world.

A partial analysis of the governmental expenditures of the United Kingdom, France, the United States, Belgium, Italy and Ger-

many (table 3, Appendix II, compiled from official government reports, indicates the nature and variety of these expenditures for the 6 countries named) shows what vast sums of money are spent annually by the various governments for the conduct of these international associations and for the promotion and development of international activities.

But large as are the functions of public international unions and congresses, private, unofficial congresses have ventured into far broader and more interesting fields. Commenting upon this Mr Faries says :

"There is not a department of thought or endeavour of any considerable group of men in any civilised country that does not reach into the international field of discussion. There is no occupation nor profession, not strictly local, but has relationships which cross many state lines. The doctor and his patient, the lawyer and his client, the minister and the church member, the teacher and the student, the merchant and the craftsman, the trust magnate and the labour agitator, the reformer and the criminal, the artist, the athlete, the philanthropist, the scientist, the suffragist, all these and more, find the topics that interest or concern them discussed in congresses where men from all parts of the world come together ».

Mr Faries has carefully compiled a table (Table 2, Appendix I) of these unofficial, private associations, conferences, etc., which indicates, even better than any description could, how extensively the field of human endeavour has already been organised on an international basis.

With part of the field covered by private, unofficial associations, other parts by sporadic, official congresses, the need for a permanent World Centre, officially recognised, is plain. The erection of such a central institution will enable these numerous associations and congresses to aid each other to support and coordinate their efforts and to gain better fulfilment of their tasks than is possible today when their headquarters are scattered throughout the world. Almost every important city of the world is

now the seat of the permanent organisation of some international activity. How can cooperation among the various organisations be possible? The blood in the veins of internationalism is cooperation, yet there is no means available at present for the complete development of the cooperative spirit. Societies must furnish their own office buildings, equip their own libraries, prepare and distribute their own propaganda, and, to almost an equal extent, conduct their own researches. Much of the benefit to be derived from these organisations is undoubtedly lost thereby. Multiplication of expense and service cripples them and narrows the scope of their activity. The erection of the World Centre would render duplication vain and give the associations the possibility of that far-reaching activity and that great and effective work for which they were founded.

It is not possible to set forth statistically the total loss due to these duplicated services and multiplied expenses, but with so many organisations working independently, it must be enormous. In the matter of compilation of statistics and the founding of suitable libraries alone, much money must be squandered annually. In the World Centre a universal library can be established larger and better than any now in existence. Copies of all official and private publications can be deposited there and made available for all students. A single building would house and a single staff, selected from among the world's best librarians, would man a single library.

The reception, entertainment and transportation of delegates to international congresses could be accomplished more economically and more effectively than is at present possible.

A World Centre with its constantly changing and ever up-to-date international expositions, its vast libraries, museums, galleries, universities, reception halls, auditoriums and places of amusement will afford an ideal meeting place for these organisations and will secure better and more interested attendance.

Only when international associations are centralised can they secure the public interest which is essential to vitality. The World Centre once located and erected will soon become the natural destination of tourists and the common meeting ground for all the peoples of the world. The public could, therefore, at a single place, study world conditions, come into contact with the organisers of the various international activities, view and judge the work, resources and achievements of all the nations, and secure in a single visit a knowledge of world conditions which could not otherwise be obtained except by travelling to all parts of the globe and studying in all important centres. The World Centre would thus make it easier for one to acquire that knowledge of international conditions and affairs so essential to the development of broader sympathies and a wider outlook. A single city could thus furnish to the traveller as large a proportion of the advantages for study as the whole world furnishes now.

International associations organised to promote progress and better understanding along all lines of international interest, such

as art, science, religion, economics, and social conditions, will maintain headquarters here, will come to this centre for their meetings and will so gain more intimate connection with life.

Thus, through bringing together the headquarters of the societies and organisations now established or later to be established, the World Centre will, in time, come to be the recognised source for all statistical information lying within the scope of the activities of such societies. Particularly will it be able to serve the public by compiling statistics of the international conditions of trade and commerce, production, in all its branches, finance and demography. Various international organisations are now working in many branches of these fields, but as yet no concerted action is possible because of the lack of concentration of these organisations. Much of their work overlaps; who can say how much can be gained through their cooperative activity? To the business man, the value of reliable statistical information concerning the conditions of business throughout the world would be inestimable.

CHAPTER III.

PROBABLE INFLUENCE OF A WORLD CENTRE ON INTERNATIONAL PEACE.

At the present time, the world is experiencing the greatest war in history. Never before has such a contest of arms been seen; never have such resources, mental and material, been employed in a work of slaughter. Today one cannot gauge the total loss to the human race such a war will entail; the loss of human life is incalculable; the destruction of property, the employment of capital in unproductive machinery of war, defy the economist, in proportion as the tenacity of the nations flouts his predictions as to how long such a hellish state can endure. Without considering motives, we may say that today the world realises that merely from the economic viewpoint, the prevention of war is among the greatest of present day problems.

The losses of war do not fall upon the belligerent countries alone. Each nation is interested in and affected by the wars of other nations. Its growth is retarded, its commerce interrupted and its financial machinery crippled. Hence, each nation is vitally interested in the prevention of war, whether that war directly concerns it as a participant or indirectly concerns it as a neutral with its international rights unrecognised.

But however great the desire and however large the resources expended to prevent war, the professional pacifist has always found to be abortive many plans which seemed most promising to him. Perhaps the

only success achieved by pacifism up to the present time, is the demonstration that one of the greatest causes of international friction is the lack of understanding and trust among nations. Accordingly, there arises the necessity of encouraging all projects which will contribute to bring those nations desirous of amicable relations with their neighbours, into contact so that misunderstandings may be dispelled and conflicting ambitions smoothed away.

The world needs to have the effort to bring people of all callings in the different nations into associations with one another, systematised, in order that such an effort may finally achieve something in the domain of the real. Such a coordination of fraternal aspirations should come as a result of governmental initiative. Peoples now distrust one another because they do not understand one another. For this reason the seas are alive with battleships and the frontiers bristle with cannon. And the nations are rightly suspicious. So long as international anarchy is accepted as a normal condition and each nation credits the others with its own worst imaginings, a nation can trust only its own virtues and strength and must distrust those of the others.

The advantage of closer intercourse between the nations cannot be over-estimated. Knowledge of the different peoples will dissipate fear, with fear will go suspicion; hu-

man nature will no longer admit the need for these great armaments on land and sea. The great nations spend in time of peace approximately half of their revenue to support a burden which will then appear unnecessary; a murderous load upon the shoulders and the conscience of the whole human race will be lifted, the cost of living will be reduced, and the poor man made less poor.

There can be no doubt but that in the past international associations, extensive travel and expositions where national and private activities, resources and genius have been freely displayed, have tended to promote a better understanding, and thus have promoted friendship and peace. They have tended to keep nations from going to blows hastily and foolishly. International discussion of questions by those best informed and most interested in them, has undoubtedly conduced to this result. International expositions have today come to be recognised by all the civilised nations of the world. Thus, narrow suspicions and secret aggressive diplomacy may gradually give place to public confidence and public discussion.

The establishment of the World Centre will be the natural culmination of such a movement and will lead to the more complete development of internationalism. Even in times of peace, national boundary lines are fast vanishing, almost against the will of many nations, and it may well be conceived that when the World Centre is fully established, the borders between the states will gradually be reduced to conventional lines useful for local self government, and all the nations will be as free in the interchange of products and activities as are the different States in the United States and Germany today.

Any arrangement having for its object the lessening of the burdens and dangers of all, should have the cooperation of military men and pacifists alike. When the international city will be established in good faith, the world will find its work and influence a great protection for all the territorial and po-

litical rights of every nation. With the vast amount of property and human life thus saved from destruction and devoted to constructive work of every kind, it will not be long before a different world will result. When some international force is established which will prove to the world that order and security for all the rights of all nations can be maintained without armed strife, people will no longer be willing to bear the heavy burdens for the support of vast military establishments, and reduced armaments will follow as a natural result.

President Eliot, formerly of Harvard University, (U. S. A.) in his address at the New York Peace Congress in 1907, dwelt with great seriousness on the dense ignorance of peoples concerning each other and showed how the distrust which results from ignorance is a common cause or antecedent condition of war. He urged as one of the things which we ought next to do, the taking of practical steps toward increasing international publicity. « It would be better, » he said, « if the civilised nations of the world would unite in carrying on an international bureau of publicity, just as a few civilised nations united to keep blazing the great lighthouse of Cape Spartel, when the government in whose territory the light is situated, would not undertake the duty of maintaining it. If we could extend the cooperative mode of action, so that there would be in every capital of the world, in every port where the exports and imports of two or more nations are constantly exchanged, in every great frontier city, and every great centre of distribution, an impartial, intelligent, expert agent for international publicity, reporting steadily and with dispatch to a central publication office, an effective security would be provided for international peace. We already know the way to organise and conduct such an enterprise. The news agencies of the commercial world have shown us how; the press of the world, the dailies, the weeklies, and the magazines, have shown us how. If the nations will not thus combine, four or five rich men, public spirited, humane, desiring to serve their countries or the world,

could do it without national aid of any sort. I would undertake to name four or five Americans who together are capable of doing this great service to the whole world ».

The World Centre would be an effective means of bringing about this publicity concerning which President Eliot spoke so forcibly. Plans have been made for housing a great international press and news syndicate, to which the press of the various nations will be asked to adhere. This need for a reliable distributing centre of news has come to be felt with increasing intensity. Today, in this moment of crisis, the international money market depends for the information according to which it fixes values for the entire world, upon an unreliable press service. Governments will indeed continue for a long time to « use » the press of their respective countries, but greater and greater becomes the need for a distributing centre of true information. More and more the public in enlightened countries is becoming disgusted with falsehood and slander at the expense of other countries, for which those responsible for the newspapers and periodicals are not themselves to be blamed, since they are merely victims of disorganisation in the newspaper world. The world needs a point whence government statements and international news items can be distributed all over the globe, uniform in wording and free from any tampering by interested persons. The press is too essential an activity, too terrible a weapon, to be left in the hands of a limited number of individuals, who exploit public credulity for mean personal ends. Sooner or later an international impersonal news bureau, which all governments will have an interest in maintaining untainted, will come into being. This organisation will not suppress the various private agencies and news services, but will complete them, and prevent any one of them from playing practical jokes upon the public of a given country.

In the World Centre space has been provided in the Tower of Progress for press bureaus and offices, completely equipped composing, printing and disseminating rooms.

The Tower will be topped by a great wireless station at the disposal of all, but upon which the world press will have certain particular claims.

Not only will the World Centre hold the machinery for disseminating information to enlighten the nations about each other, but its great expositions will enable the people of the different nations to make independent and individual studies for themselves. There is so much evidence which leads us to believe that international expositions in the past have been strong factors in promoting peace and friendship, that we are forced to the conclusion that the establishment of the World Centre will have the same effect.

Patrick Geddes, writing in the *Contemporary Review* (Vol. 78, P. 666-669), concerning the Paris Exposition of 1900, says with regard to the influence of that exposition on peace :

« That this, by far the vastest and most representative gathering of men and of things, of all kindreds, kingdoms, nations and languages in the entire course of history, should have come and gone almost without accident, without disorder, without any evil fairy at the feast, is much ; that it should have brought together some representation of well-nigh all the forces of material, intellectual and even moral, progress is more ; that it should have so multiplied personal relations, so strengthened general good feeling and international amity, is most of all. Yet this is but a case of the increase of good understanding, which has been so manifest amid the changing crowds of all nations, in their relations with each other, and, of course, most of all with the nations and city which have so richly spread the feast, so admirably and courteously fulfilled the part of host amid the many cares and tasks and trials inevitable in such a colossal and motley gathering. And though wars may disturb or threaten, and peace may still for a time stagger under her armour, it is much that there should be henceforth in our generation

these millionfold witnesses to the essential and organic unity, the true internationalism, of civilisation and progress ».

The World Centre was conceived in order to gather together the essential interests of all peoples and to facilitate the rapid fulfilment of their highest aims and aspirations. The establishment of an international Court of Justice in the midst of a scientific and economic centre will undoubtedly further the step already taken toward better international economic relations.

Moreover, such a centre would afford an opportunity for bringing together all international organisations, and would harmonise the numerous associations which, though vivified by similar intentions, cannot, because they lack a central meeting place, cooperation and coordination, accomplish their task with all the desired amplitude. It would bring the nations together in a peaceful way to discuss and further science, philosophy, art, law, religion — thus furnishing a tremendous impetus to the progress of the world. It would result in many economies through cooperative activity.

The development of mutuality, of the spirit of international cooperation on lines of particular interests whether economic, scientific, social, aesthetic or religious cannot fail to result from the establishment of such a World Centre. Regardless of race, or politics, men will be united in the pursuit of a common end which binds them together. Friendship, sympathy and a spirit of cooperation raise themselves from the depths of human consciousness and overcome differences of race, speech and custom. A spiritual unity develops which harmonises the physical differences of the world. World-consciousness supplants nationalism.

When men have caught such a world-vision, even though it be along only a single line of activity or progress, they will not tol-

erate its envelopment in the smoke of conflict or the dust clouds of misunderstanding. Sectionalism, nationalism must give way to broader, larger things. The new interests abhor war because it interferes with progress in the lines fostered by them, because it engenders hatred where mutuality prevailed, because it hinders the work of the human race.

The World City may not prevent war, but will hinder it, and will make it less severe and bring a quicker and more lasting peace, because it will enable internationalism to attain a fuller growth. And the only way to remove the conditions which bring about the periodical occurrences of wars, is to build up an international consciousness. Such a consciousness cannot be created out of nothing — there must be back of it a feeling of real unity of purpose.

The question of war will take care of itself if only we continue to develop these international organisations and interests. As they grow in strength, the world will demand that they be exempted from the influence and ravages of war. And if war come, in the common interests of mankind, its horror and dangers will be confined to the active combatants, as they should be.

Excluding the Balkan and present wars, the cost in money of all the important wars during the last century and a quarter, the number of men engaged and the number lost, are indicated in Table 6 of Appendix II. These are not official figures. They are estimates, but estimates made by trained scholars and statisticians; and they can after all represent only a small part of the loss of life and treasure. Twenty-three billion dollars expended in the direct costs of war! More than five million lives lost! That these figures have already been surpassed by the present war alone, is evident. The money cost already exceeds ninety billion dollars or enough to build over a hundred World Centres on the scale of the one proposed.

CHAPTER IV.

PUBLIC ADVANTAGES OF THE WORLD CENTRE.

It is to the interest of all nations to be known to one another in order that they may learn how they can best contribute to the general progress. Only by such interchange of knowledge can they appreciate what services they can render to other nations and what services other nations can render to them.

Up to the present time such knowledge has been spread abroad sometimes by pamphlets and articles and more rarely through the agency of government exhibits at International Expositions. The growth of international relations has been rather the result of blind necessity than of conscious and scientific effort. There exist works on comparative politics and administration, but these are scarcely comprehensive in their scope and soon become out of date.

Only the countries in which the exhibitions have been held have presented really comprehensive exhibits, as their temporary character and the cost of transportation were obstacles too great for other countries to overcome. Owing to its permanent and comprehensive character, the exhibition in the World Centre will be somewhat different from any previously held. Each nation will, of course, be free to show what it likes; but it is hoped that exhibits of permanent value to the world will be gathered, rather than those which would profit single producers or manufacturers. Thus geological, geogra-

phical, mineralogical and agricultural charts of each country, showing the rock strata, topography, mineral deposits and the areas suitable for growing various products, with accompanying statistics telling the amount and development of production, the comparative population, the areas open for development etc. of each country might well serve as a beginning for the exhibits. Further than this, the nations might specialise. England might exhibit methods of cotton spinning and weaving, or of shipbuilding, with suitable models. Germany could offer illustrations of its national organisation and the fruits of patient toil. France of luxuries and of inventions. Russia of mineral oils, Japan of silks, porcelains and fancy wares, the United States of grains and practical implements. Thus all the real achievements of the nations would be at the disposal of any who cared to take advantage of them. Owing to international organisation, inventors might exhibit without fear of having their patents stolen. Through comparison the best product of the human brain would rightly prevail over inferior types.

Demonstrations of administrative and governmental organisation, of habits, laws and customs would greatly benefit the world. In proof of this a few illustrations only need be cited. In some of these instances, governments were able to take quick advantage of experience in other countries, in others only after the lapse of some time. All, how-

ever, show the advantage to one country of watching the spread and adoption of new ideas in neighbouring states.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM

The principles of initiative and referendum in law making were introduced in the Swiss Cantons shortly after the revolutionary movement of 1830 and throughout the Swiss Federation in 1874. Even as late as 1888 the nature and — to most people — the very name of the referendum were unknown in America, and it was not until 1898 that the initiative was incorporated into an American state constitution.

In 1913, direct legislature was in force in all the Swiss Cantons, except Freiburg; in the Commonwealth of Australia; in Norway; and in some nineteen of the American States.

Had there existed some central clearing house of information concerning governmental activities, such as the proposed World Centre, it would not have required nearly threequarters of a century to make known to progressive states the system of direct legislation. Failing such an organisation, the spread of information concerning this new method of legislation has been slow and activity in this field has been retarded.

WORKINGMEN'S COMPENSATIONS

Workingmen's compensation was introduced in Germany in 1884, in Austria in 1887 and in Norway in 1894. Since the adoption of the principle by Norway, the development of legislation providing for workmen's compensation for industrial accidents in Europe and throughout the world has been extremely rapid.

In fact, it may be doubted whether any subject of labour legislation has ever made such swift progress or gained such general acceptance for its principles throughout the world in so brief a period. In 1914, forty-one countries — and the number includes all of Europe except Turkey — had introduced

some form of workingmen's compensation for industrial accidents. In the United States what might be called the period of investigation and education began late as compared with European countries, but since its inception, the investigation and study have been followed by quick legislative action. This was brought about largely through the existence of an international association.

Here, again, because of lack of some central agency through which improvements in governmental practice could be made known, legislative measures of great economic value have been slow of adoption.

INCOME TAX

An income tax was introduced into England in 1799 and lasted until the end of the Napoleonic Wars. It was revived in 1842 and has been an important part of the British financial system since that time. The income tax was adopted by Italy in 1864, by Prussia in 1891, by Holland and New Zealand in 1893, and is now enforced in over sixty countries, states, colonies, and dependencies. The experience of the American States is particularly instructive. The tax has been raised in America since the colonial period and at various times has been incorporated in the financial systems of at least twenty-one States. It exists now in only about one-third of the States where it has been tried. The State income tax has never produced any considerable amount of revenue, except where the practice of Europe has been followed and the administration centralised.

In recent years, the income tax has become a part of the financial mechanism of the federal government of the United States. This income tax law bears the imprint of European experience, particularly that of England and Prussia.

Had there been established a central agency charged with the duty of collecting and disseminating information concerning taxation methods, experiences and results,

it is probable that many American States would have been saved the trouble and expense incident to the passage and repeal of income tax laws. Without the advantages of such information, costly and annoying blunders were made.

RURAL CREDIT

Land credit was first introduced into Prussia in 1769. For three-quarters of a century the existence of the *Landschafts* was scarcely known outside the kingdom. In 1826, when the French farmers and land owners were on the verge of bankruptcy, a prize was offered for the best solution of the agricultural land and investment problem. In 1839, thirteen years later, an essay was submitted to the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences which gave France her first information concerning the German system of land credits. The Government was so impressed with this that it sent a commissioner to study the plan at first hand.

In the first report the commissioner said : "It will be difficult for me to express the astonishment which I felt at Stettin and Breslau, where the *Landschaft* has existed for more than three-fourths of a century and has placed in circulation more than 30,000,000 debentures, upon learning that public officials and wealthy citizens were unable to give me any information about the association which they hardly knew by name."

Here was an old and powerful institution performing a great service for the farmers of the country, unknown to the public officials and wealthy citizens of the several communities and to the agricultural officials of the neighbouring country. Other committees were appointed in conference, investigations were made and detailed, comprehensive reports submitted. The result was the passage of the law of 1852 — twenty years after the farmers and land owners stood on the verge of bankruptcy and eighty-three years after it was first practised in Prussia.

Land credit was introduced into Sweden in 1831, and Denmark in 1850, into Hungary

in 1853, into Austria in 1865 and into Italy in 1866. It is not only confined to older and more thickly populated countries in Europe. It was first introduced in Chili in 1863, in Mexico in 1882, in Victoria in 1890, in West Australia in 1895, and in New South Wales in 1899.

The history of cooperative credit was very similar to the history of land credit. Cooperative credit was introduced in Germany in 1850, in Austria in 1858, in Belgium in 1864, in Italy and Russia in 1886, in Hungary and Servia in 1887, in France in 1893, in Holland and Ireland in 1895, in Canada in 1900, in the United States in 1908, in Japan in 1909 and in Egypt in 1910.

Now it is practised in all European countries except Norway, Denmark, Luxemburg, Monaco and Greece. It has been introduced into Africa, Asia, America and some Island Colonies.

Anyone familiar with agricultural conditions will not question the long standing need for some form of rural credit, either land or cooperative, not only in Europe but also in the new and less thickly populated areas. It has, however, been nearly a century and a half since the new comprehensive plan was devised and tested by experience, and even now it is neither world-wide nor perfect.

Rural credit is one of the great agricultural problems confronting the world. There can be no question but that there is need for rural credit and that the need has been of long standing. Each country has attempted to work out its own problem in its own way. If rapid and permanent progress is to be made, the experience of all nations must be recorded, good parts adopted and weak and dangerous parts rejected. This can best be done by means of a central agency like the World Centre.

It cannot be successfully argued that there was no need of this legislation until it was actually introduced in the different coun-

tries. Industrial education did not begin with the first needs for special training; workingmen's compensations with the first injury, or cooperative credit with the first need for cheap long time credit for the farmer. The remedy oftentimes comes long after the evil which it is destined to cure, in whole or in part, has forced itself on the attention of the sufferers.

It is not maintained that the method of handling any one problem is perfect in any one country, but it takes no great wisdom to recognise that some countries have advanced farther toward a given ideal than others or have had special and unique experiences that, if known, would be beneficial to all the world. Neither is it maintained that an experience, no matter how successful, can be taken up root and branch and transplanted in another country. The German system of cooperative credit may not be acceptable in its entirety to America; or the English income tax to France. Differences of race, ideals, temperament, and the traits and characteristics of peoples must be recognised.

Granting all this, it is maintained that all essential experiments should be made international property, because it is difficult enough to find the proper solution when all the facts are known. And there should be complete, harmonious and effective cooperation among all nations in the solution of problems common to the people of all the world.

What is needed is some central agency, where the experience of all the nations of the world can be brought together, compared and tested with a view to the introduction of the adaptable features in other countries. A World Centre such as the one proposed will fulfil every requirement. It will greatly reduce the number of costly and useless experiments and will aid in bringing about more efficient government. It will ensure the same service at less expense, or a greater service at the same expense, to the individual tax payer.

Exhibitions, educational or economic, have always been followed by tangible results, some of which can well be cited here in proof of what is averred. The Centennial Exposition of 1876 led to the introduction of manual training in the public schools of the United States and to the introduction of shop work as a part of the curriculum of technical schools: two features in education that have made for superior mechanical training and have rendered possible a rapid advance in arts and crafts. The Paris Exposition of 1878 resulted in the entire reorganisation of primary education in France, while the United States Educational Exhibit at the Paris Exposition in 1900, has led to the sending of many students to this country for the purpose of studying and investigating its industrial and commercial methods.

The great International Exhibition held in London in 1851, the first one of its kind, gave early evidence of the great advantage of expositions to the various nations. Commenting upon this fact, Sir Henry Cole, K. C. B., says of this exhibition, that, foremost among the immediate and most practical of the international results of the exhibition should be ranked the consent, the eagerness, of all countries to discuss and revise their system of postal communication. The Postage Association was formed during the exhibition. It arose out of the conviction which men of all countries entertained concerning the vital importance of a perfect and easy interchange of thought by means of writing, and of their sense of indefensible impediments which then prevented it.

The beginning of the reform of patent laws, for the recognition of the rights of intellectual labour, which have had great international results with regard to industry, is due to this exhibition. Almost as soon as the exhibition was announced, every one was sensible of the manifest absurdity of inviting inventors to display the fruits of their intellectual exertions, while at the same time they should be subjected thereby to pillage. So the legislature promised inventors that

they should not incur the risk of being robbed, at least, until the exhibition was over, and a law was made to keep men from picking and stealing for a few months. Wonderful honesty! — found to be so consistent with common sense that the law was renewed for a few months longer. Imperfect as this law was, it had important results with regard to industry, and affected inventive rights, more or less, over the whole world.

During the preparations for the exhibition, France invited the nations of Europe, each to send one of its most eminent hygienists with a consul to Paris to discuss the question of quarantine. England, Austria, Spain, Portugal and the Italian States, joined in this congress. To ask men of science to discuss points of science was a novel advance upon the old bureaucratic plan of treating medical questions. An admirable example on the part of France, it was not forgotten on future occasions, and has been attended with beneficial results.

The London Exhibition of 1851 contributed much to the various nations participating, through the lessons learned from each others' exhibits.

Viewed in its general and social aspects, the first exhibition was considered to have done good by bringing together thinking men of all nations, and effecting something toward valuable reforms in postal intercommunication, in the laws of patents and copyrights, in quarantine laws, in the passport system, in international commercial laws, in sanitary economy, and in the endeavour to establish a little uniformity in the coins, weights, measures and scientific numeration of the principal European countries. Working men were afforded an opportunity of profiting by many things which they saw in the palace of glass. As one of the lecturers expressed it: « For the first time has been

placed within their grasp a knowledge of what has been done, and is doing, and by whom — inventions which have so often engaged the attention of the ingenious mechanic, who, ignorant that he is doing that which has long been successfully performed, sustains a real injury; while the talent and industry possessed by him are totally lost to other causes which, with better information, he might have successfully embraced ».

Other evidences of the lasting advantages to be derived by governments from the establishment of the World Centre are to be gained from the results of other expositions. A lesson of much importance to all nations, which was learned from the earliest expositions, has obtained almost universal recognition through the amendment of patent laws and the establishment of international patent agreements. The report by Archdyle Regnier, President of the Imperial Commission, reporting on April 15, 1873, as to the desirability of an international congress for the consideration of the question of patent protection, bears sufficient evidence. In part it reads :

« The Vienna Exposition of 1873 called for embodiment of universal progress in culture, which would seem more peculiarly adapted to pay tribute to the spirit of invention even from the standpoint of modern legislation and to form the starting point for a new universal codification of the rights of inventors. Had there been any doubt of the connection of this right with the aims and ends of such an Universal Exposition, previous exhibitions would have solved it. The recent patent legislation of England is the immediate result of the London Expositions of 1851 and 1862, while the Paris Expositions of 1855 and 1867 produced, as is well known, temporary protection laws which it was thought expedient to imitate, in the preparatory acts, for the Vienna Universal Exposition of 1873 ».

CHAPTER V.

ADVANTAGES OF A WORLD CENTRE IN DISSEMINATING INFORMATION CONCERNING AGRICULTURE.

Agriculture was one of the the first occupations of humanity, but it still remains one of man's activities whose condition is most backward. There is need for improvement in quality and methods of production, in the quality of the product and the system of marketing.

Scientific production is a world problem. On this subject there is need for more and more information and better distribution than that already at hand. Each nation is in a position to contribute something and each nation would benefit by others' contributions.

Until recently, particularly in the newer countries little thought has been given to soil fertility, crop rotation, animal and plant breeding; introduction of newer types of plants, or the improvement of those already cultivated. The result has been that many farms have been exhausted and abandoned. Entire areas have been reduced to temporary poverty by the continuous cultivation of a single crop. Much money has been lost by keeping inferior animals and cultivating poor and unproductive plants. Yet exhausted soil can be built up and all soil made more productive. Animals may be improved and made more serviceable to mankind, plants may be made to yield a greater return; new types may be introduced and old types improved.

The radiating centre for all knowledge tending toward the amelioration through

human intelligence of agriculture and stock raising, already exists in the International Institute of Agriculture. Of this International Institute more should be known, for it constitutes not only a unique example of how the nations of the world, casting aside suspicion, may cooperate for the common welfare, but an organisation which is already matured and which will fill an important place in the World Centre. First conceived as a brilliant idea by an American, Mr. David Lubin, it was realised through the intelligent action of the present King of Italy. Victor Emmanuel III listened to Mr. Lubin, and wrote to the then Prime Minister, the Hon. Giovanni Giolitti, a letter which ran as follows :

« Dear President,

Mr. Lubin, a citizen of the United States, has made a proposal to me, with all the ardour of sincere conviction, and it seems to me both wise and useful, and I therefore recommend it to the consideration of my Government.

Farmers, who generally form the most numerous class in a country and have everywhere a great influence on the destinies of nations, cannot, if they remain isolated, make sufficient provision for the improvement of the various crops and their distribution in proportion to the needs of consumers, nor protect their own interests on the market, which, as far as the more important produce of the soil is concerned, is tending to become

more and more one market for the whole world.

Therefore, considerable advantage might be derived from an International Institute, which, with no political object, would undertake to study the conditions of agriculture in the various countries of the world, periodically publishing reports on the amount and character of the crops, so as to facilitate production, render commerce less expensive and more rapid, and establish more suitable prices. This Institute, coming to an understanding with the various national offices already existing for the purpose, would also supply information on the conditions of agricultural labour in various localities, so as to serve as a safe and useful guide for emigrants; would promote agreements for mutual defence against diseases of plants and animals, where individual action is insufficient, and, finally, would exert an action favourable to the development of rural cooperation, agricultural insurance and credit.

The benefits attained by means of such an Institute, a bond of union between all farmers and consequently an important influence for peace, would certainly be manifold. Rome would be a suitable place for its inauguration, at which the representatives of the adhering States and the larger Associations concerned might assemble, and harmonise the authority of Governments with the free energies of the farmers.

I am convinced that the nobility of the aim will suffice to overcome the difficulties of the enterprise.

And in this faith I sign myself

Your affectionate cousin,
VICTOR EMMANUEL ».

Rome, January 24th. 1905.

The Italian Government took up the project and invited the nations of the world to an International Conference at Rome. Most of them accepted the invitation. The result was the Treaty of June 7th. 1905 which authorised the founding of the Institute.

The letter has been well described as the first practical trial of official internationalism.

For the International Institute of Agriculture is a State institution, and is so proclaimed in the Treaty of 1905. The founders realised the advantages of State control, one of the greatest of which is the obligation for the adhering States to carry out, each in its own sphere, decisions made by general assemblies or by Permanent Committees. A supernational will has come into existence superseding, in matters within its scope, the various national wills.

The aim of the Institute is, in brief, to further the betterment of agricultural conditions in the different countries in the interest of world agriculture. But as defined in full, in act. 9 of the Treaty :

« The Institute, confining its operations within an international sphere, shall :

(a) Collect, study and publish as promptly as possible statistical, technical, or economic information concerning farming, vegetable and animal products, the commerce in agricultural products, and the prices prevailing in the various markets ;

(b) Communicate to parties interested, also as promptly as possible, the above information ;

(c) Indicate the wages paid for farm work ;

(d) Make known new diseases of vegetables which may appear in any part of the world, showing the territories infected, the progress of the diseases, and, if possible, the remedies which are effective ;

(e) Study questions concerning agricultural cooperation, insurance, and credit in all their aspects ; collect and publish information which might be useful in the various countries for the organisation of works connected with agricultural cooperation, insurance and credit ;

(f) Submit to the approval of the Governments, if there is occasion for it, measures for the protection of the common interests of farmers and for improvement of their con-

ditions after having utilised all the necessary sources of information, such as the wishes expressed by international or other agricultural congresses, or by congresses of sciences applied to agriculture, or agricultural academies, learned bodies, etc. ».

The Institute has already done much in carrying out its programme. An agricultural library has been founded which promises to become the most complete in the world; information is widely gathered and as widely diffused, communications are periodically issued through the press to the fifty or more nations which have adhered to the Treaty.

The World Centre will be the natural home for such an organisation, whose records would nowhere be better kept or whose knowledge better distributed than in an international city which is certain to become the distributing centre of information for all cooperative activities.

One of the best ways of improving agricultural products is to demonstrate what has been done and how it has been accomplished. The farmer, either alone or through his association or his government, has held a large place at local, national and great international exhibits and world's fairs. It has been a paying investment. The World Centre would offer an even greater incentive and a greater opportunity. Even alone though more often through their associations and their governments, the farmers could maintain a continuous exhibit at this permanent World Centre. To those who exhibited it would mean new markets for their seeds and grains, their animal and vegetable products; and to those who viewed the exhibit it would mean an incentive to improve their products.

Abundant testimony can be produced to show what can be accomplished through more organised production. Denmark in particular is a good example. Half a century ago, Denmark was a barren waste of sand dunes and many of her people were in poverty.

Since then, she has undergone an agricultural evolution and to-day is one of the most prosperous countries of all Europe. Her farms are fertile and productive, her people are well educated, industrious and prosperous.

The value of introducing new plant types and determining their proper location is well illustrated in the work of Doctor Wiley concerning the development of the sugar beet industry in the United States.

His task was to find out over what variety of areas the sugar beet could be grown; it was a climatic study dependent upon chemistry. He made thousands of analyses of sugar beets grown all over the country, and finally located the regions and published a map indicating where it was possible to grow the sugar beet. To-day every beet-sugar factory in the United States is within the limits of that belt. Manufacturers use the map as a guide for locating their fields. The annual saving resulting from the investigation of the sugar-beet and the thousands of analyses made is estimated at \$ 1,000,000.

Investigation in the same country has resulted in the production of new types of pineapples, especially adapted to certain sections of Florida, and which have characteristics which enable them to be shipped.

The finest pineapples previously grown could not be shipped, as they were so delicate in flesh that they spoiled in transit. But these recently developed types have all the aroma and the characteristics of the finer and yet can be shipped. The tangerine orange, the tangerine grapefruit, and the new species of pineapples will be worth at least \$ 150,000 annually to the fruit growers of Florida.

Each year the farmers of the world lose millions of dollars' worth of property by the ravages of plant and animal diseases and pests.

In no country in the world do insects impose a heavier tax on farm products than

in the United States. *The losses resulting from the depredations of insects on all the plant products of the soil, both in their growing and in their stored state, together with those on live stock, exceed the entire expenditures of the National Government, including the pension roll and the maintenance of the Army and Navy.*

Statistics of agricultural products for the year 1889, of the Twelfth Census, and for subsequent years, gathered by the Bureau of Statistics of the Department of Agriculture, indicate an annual value of all the products of the farms, of about \$ 5,000,000,000. To one familiar with the work of the chief insect pests on the important agriculture products entering into this total, it is comparatively easy to approximate the probable shrinkage due to insects. The detailed consideration of this shrinkage indicates that it will rarely fall below 10 per cent, and in years of excessive insect damage, may amount to 50 per cent or even more of the important staple products of the farm. This total comprises, however, only losses suffered by the growing and maturing crops and annually by live stock, and does not include two very considerable and legitimate items, namely, the loss occasioned by insect pests to farm products, chiefly cereals and forage crops in storage, and to natural forests and forest products; at least \$ 100,000,000 must be assigned to each, making a total annual tax chargeable to insects of \$ 70,000,000 for the United States alone.

These pests and diseases have been spread from country to country without thought of the consequences and, where laws and administrative measures have been resorted to, it has usually if not always, been in self defence. It is only after Pandora's Box has been opened and the evil done that restrictions are imposed; but in this field also the agency of the International Institute of Agriculture is proving its value.

Habitually, however, when the pest or evil has been established and has destroyed or proved its capacity to destroy millions of

dollars worth of grain and fruits, the country in question passes legislation forbidding the importation of infected substances and products. This only goes to prove the lack of success which attends any attempt to improve the situation by confining attention to one country alone. *In the matter of the farm insect, as well as in meeting other agricultural problems, the most thorough cooperation between different countries is needed.*

The need for cooperation is exemplified by the attempts of threatened nations to seek the experience of other countries and to solicit such aid as they are able to give.

According to the annual report (1909) of the Secretary of the Department of Agriculture (United States), during that year an American agent was sent to Russia, the Chief of the Bureau of Entomology visited various European countries and the different European governments as well as the government of Japan cooperated through their official experts, while several private entomologists also cooperated in a hearty manner. The result was that more parasitic material was received during the year than ever before. The best results came from France and Japan.

During that year twelve species of introduced parasites and predatory insects were discovered in the fields, indicating a reasonably certain establishment of these pests in the United States. The close of the year found twice as many species of imported parasites in the fields as were present the previous year. Many of them scattered over extensive districts, one species being found over an area of 500 square miles.

News was received from Italy that American parasites of the mulberry scale insect, sent to that country in return for similar favours done to the United States, had established themselves in certain regions in such numbers that the danger from the scale was considered past. Certain ladybird beetles were sent by the Department of Malaga, Spain, for the purpose of preying upon a spe-

cies of mealy bug. Parasites of scale insects were sent to Peru. A species of tick parasite, occurring upon the dog tick in Texas, was sent to South Africa. The exportation of bumblebees to the Philippine Islands for the purpose of fertilizing clover, was reported to have been fairly successful, and American bumblebees were found in certain regions in the Philippines during the year.

Work on insects affecting vegetables, crops and stored products has been continued along the same lines.

Insects affecting the sugar beet have been studied with care, and a special investigation has been made of a leaf hopper affecting this crop in Utah, Idaho, and Colorado.

Many other insects of this group have been under careful observation, and results of great value have been obtained. The saving annually effected by the use of measures based upon the work of the Bureau of Entomology against insects affecting vegetable crops and stored products, is estimated at \$ 3,000,000.

Some years ago the United States imported a little ladybird beetle from Australia, an enemy of the white scale, and the result of that was to save the orange and lemon growing industry of California, which was threatened with extermination by the scale insect. The little beetle multiplied to such an extent that it almost exterminated the scale insect. The money saved annually from the introduction of the Australian ladybird beetle will be about \$ 5,000,000.

Several years ago the Department of Agriculture imported a little parasite fly into Southern California from South Africa, with the result of its establishment and diffusion and the almost complete destruction of the black scale, which is a very serious pest, affecting the olive crop, the oranges and lemons, as well as certain shade trees. The annual saving from the importation of

the black scale parasite is estimated at \$ 250,000.

At the hearings before the Congressional Committee on Appropriations, Alonzo D. Melvin, Chief of the Bureau of Animal Industry in the United States, testified that his Bureau must be credited with introducing the successful treatment of actinomycosis, or lumpy jaw, in cattle by means of iodide of potassium, thereby effecting a saving of \$ 250,000 annually. The work done by his Bureau in the eradication of foot rot of sheep and cattle is worth \$ 150,000 annually.

But it would be idle to multiply further instances of preventable diseases in plants and animals. What is needed most of all is complete and comparable information concerning the experience of all countries, not only with animal and plant diseases but with pests and their symptoms or habits, and the cures and remedies applied. This experience can easily be obtained when each nation will supply to some single agency, such as will normally be maintained at the World Centre, all the information relative to conditions in its own territory. With this information in the hands of a single central agency, the area covered by each and every disease and pest, whether of plant, animal or human being, can be clearly indicated and the cure and remedy as practised be ascertained. This experience can then be disseminated to all parts of the world and used to combat all diseases and pests. Trade and commerce in affected products as in affected regions, can be regulated.

The organisation for the control of the disease and pests would only then be commensurate with the evil to be controlled.

Particularly in the matter of marketing farm products, can the World Centre be of great advantage to the world at large.

When animals, plants and seeds are produced and saved from the ravages of pests

and diseases, the producers' task is not yet completed. The product must be sold. In some countries agricultural products are marketed in the best possible conditions and at a very low cost. In other countries the cost and wastes of marketing are enormous. Secretary Wilson, of the United States Department of Agriculture, estimated that for food for which the consumer paid one dollar, the farmer received less than fifty cents. The experience of all countries should be ascertained and made known to the rest of the world. Under such a system, the best methods would soon prevail throughout the whole world and the result would be that the producer could get more for his product and the consumer would receive his commodities at a lower price and in better condition.

In certain countries, particularly in Europe, the farmers are cooperating in the production and marketing of their crops. This has resulted in increased production, a better product and a market for all that is produced. Cooperation among producers is being tried in other sections, sometimes with success, sometimes with failure. What is needed most of all is a central agency where the experience of all nations can be gathered together, classified and disseminated for the use of every country wishing to practise cooperation. By the use of such a method, sound economic principles would rapidly become known and would be universally practised, and the benefits now accruing to particular countries, would be spread to all sections where the principles of cooperation are applicable.

CHAPTER VI.

THE WORLD CENTRE WILL IMPROVE INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS.

Among its many features, the World Centre is to contain a series of governmental buildings which will extend along the Avenue of the Nations, and each one of which will be erected and maintained by one of the leading nations of the world. These buildings will consist of exhibition halls, in which each nation and its citizens can make known to the world at large the latest developments in art, science, agriculture, mining, manufacturing, transport, trade and commerce. It is contended that the exhibits shall be changed frequently and kept up to date, furnishing the best opportunity for comparative study and constant incentive for progress both in individuals and nations.

More than forty great world's fairs have been held during the past 65 years. Table 4 of the Appendix shows the amounts expended by Great Britain, France and the United States from the public moneys of those governments for the various world's fairs. These figures have no reference to the total cost of the fairs, but indicate only the amount of contributions made by three of the leading governments. The total contributions from private individuals, local governments and the receipts from admissions, concessions etc. (Table 5.) would make these figures look ridiculously small. They represent only the participation of national governments and are set forth to show the rapid development of internationalism, where the development has affected directly the treasuries of the

leading nations. The direct expenditures of these three governments are in excess of thirty million dollars.

We need look to only a few of the world's fairs, from the first one held in Great Britain in 1851, to the Panama Pacific International Exposition held in San Francisco in 1915, in order to see that a permanent maintenance of the chief features of these temporary expositions would be of inestimable value in standardising products and prices, in introducing new machines and business devices, in advertising and selling over wider markets, in improving labour conditions and returns, in stabilising production and in developing international trade. These, in the main, are the economic advantages which we are to consider for the present and upon which rests largely the justification for this project, as far as it concerns business.

The compelling force which attracts the public to an exposition is its educational value. The magnificent parks, majestic palaces — gorgeously decorated and brilliantly illuminated — representing the supreme achievements of the world's best engineers, architects, artists and artisans form merely an empty shell, an artistic background. Life and force are infused into this stupendous creation by the exhibits. The State and foreign pavilions, with banquet halls and ball rooms, the amusement features, the bands, parades and pageants are for the entertain-

ment of those who come to study the exhibits. Who would journey to Europe or the Orient, how many would cross a continent or even a State to see parks and palaces, to banquet, to dance or to be amused? Without exhibits there could be no exposition and with them an exposition could — if necessary — be held in the open.

The exhibit is one of the most effective forms of practical education. In the early stages of civilisation, festivals and fairs were held for the purpose of exchanging goods. The modern international exposition developed, as the scope of these fairs was transformed from an exchange of goods to an exchange of ideas. An important feature of this evolution has been the growing recognition of the educational value of exhibits. Today a temporary exhibit is assembled at almost every congress convention. The habitual thesis reader is finding it more and more difficult to secure an audience at these gatherings, because the members feel that a study of the exhibit is more profitable and more interesting. Many national organisations now maintain permanent museums and travelling exhibits. In some cases the local branches of these organisations have made such demands that it has become necessary to manufacture and keep for sale specialised exhibits. Likewise, museums have found it necessary to keep for exchange or sale, special exhibits for the use of colleges, schools and museums. Several exhibit bureaus have been established for the purpose of determining exhibit values by experiment and furnishing free information and advice to exhibitors. The exhibit has taken its place among education's best recognised tools.

The capitalist, by travel through various countries, and by intercourse with the scientific and industrial classes in many lands, may acquire the knowledge necessary for the profitable conduct of his own affairs. The workman has no such opportunities for the cultivation of his faculties; to enable him to benefit by the labour and skill of others, their productions must be collected

for his inspection; and it is scarcely possible to estimate too highly the importance to the industrial classes of such exhibitions as that which is now proposed. It is most important that we should enable our artisans to observe the works of other men and other countries than their own; and to discern the methods employed in accomplishing results with which they are familiar, but which they have attained by different processes. The knowledge they thus acquire will advance their skill and improve their taste.

From the mere fact that hundreds of thousands of men have observed the products of other nations and found them superior to their own, great strides in industry have been taken. In discussing the International Exposition of 1862, William Hawes, in the *Royal Society of Arts Journal*, shows how this is, pointing out that the inspection of foreign products in their various stages of manufacture is the only way the workman can improve his own methods, and that workmen do attend the expositions in large numbers.

«No mechanic institution», he says, «can give him such useful knowledge, no teaching in the Department of Science and Art can give him such instruction, as he will derive from a few hours spent inspecting the work, in its various forms, of his foreign rivals. To the intelligent and skillful workman, an International Exposition is an industrial college, teaching in the most practical manner — educating the eye, the hand, and the taste — stimulating industry and ingenuity — removing prejudices, and, by enlarging the sphere of observation and giving new ideas, making better workmen.

And he goes on to show the effects of the distribution of high and low price admission tickets to the Exposition of 1867. He concludes: «So that the working classes of Paris at four sous each, paid more than the five franc and two franc admissions together, and besides being visited by more than 2,000,000 of people paying but four sous each, the Exposition was open free on one Sunday

before it closed, when a vast number were admitted who would not otherwise have seen it. The numbers then admitted were enormous, but no account was taken of them.

« I have drawn this comparison because I conceive it to be true and just, and necessary to illustrate the view I take of the proper mode of making use of these most valuable modern institutions. Their object is undoubtedly to disseminate information among the great mass of master manufacturers and men in all countries, to improve their taste and stimulate their industry ».

England has sent large delegations of artisans to the expositions at Paris, and, in turn, France has sent many workmen to London in order that they might profit, as the master manufacturers did, from the exhibits collected from all over the world. Many other nations have officially recognised the educational value of expositions to the industrial classes.

Not all persons, of course, can visit the World Centre, any more than they can all attend a world's fair. It is proposed, however, that as a part of its general educational work, the World Centre will serve as a distributing agency for travelling exhibits of art and industry and education. Its facilities as an exposition centre will be made available to the remotest parts of the world, where collections of matter of general interest to citizens of any community can be prepared and forwarded to that community, thus enabling the people of all the world to derive a direct educational benefit from its establishment and growth. These travelling exhibits can be routed through the different countries on regular schedules and at small expense to the various communities interested, much as Chatauqua features or theatrical productions are now routed. Any community or local organisation anywhere, can thus have brought to its very door the best efforts of the world's best producers.

The travelling exhibits of Agricultural Colleges, of the forestry and fisheries service,

of the leading American railroads, all of which are designed to improve conditions in the extractive industries of the United States, have met with general enthusiasm among the public and have done much to improve the conditions in the industries thus represented. But the perfection of the world's enterprise is a world problem, and should be undertaken on an international basis, under the auspices of such a permanent international organisation as the World Centre.

No one nation is supreme in commerce in all its branches. Each excels the other in some special field of endeavour; each can learn from the others many lessons by a comparison of products. Those who have carefully studied the several expositions know how inferior the products of some nations are, compared to others; how easily the producers of the inferior goods could learn from other exhibits to improve the quality of their output and develop higher standards of production.

From the first, this profitable borrowing from the productive methods of other nations has been the most outstanding benefit of the world's fairs. Sir Richard Cole wrote of it in regard to the London Exhibition in 1851. In his book, « Fifty Years of Public Work, » he tells how he observed at the fair an ingenious German machine for turning out porcelain. A friend had remarked to him that only by having seen the machine in operation could the potters of Staffordshire be induced to abandon their antiquated methods.

The English exhibition of 1851 had the effect of demonstrating that Great Britain was far inferior to continental nations in the arts of design, just as it demonstrated to the continental nations their inferiority to Great Britain in agricultural implements, in machinery and in all branches of the iron and steel industry. The British government at once established schools of design throughout the empire, while the continental nations took steps to improve their iron works and machinery and develop their mineral resources. The exhibition of 1862 in London demon-

strated the remarkable fact that in all the textile industries, in pottery and in metal work requiring aesthetic training and knowledge, Great Britain had overtaken, if not gone ahead of her continental rivals, while she had beaten Germany in her own stronghold by casting steel so far in advance of Krupp's best results that her guns and wheels and tires were regarded with a wonder and admiration approaching incredulity. It is impossible to estimate the enormous pecuniary value of this progress to England and to Germany.

The first exposition in England led quickly to another in France in 1855, with similar benefits to French industry. What contemporary observers thought of the effect of these expositions, may be learned from the *Electric Magazine of Foreign Literature, Science and Art*, in 1862. A contributor wrote: «Prince Albert well knew that the British manufacturer and handicraftsman, though excellent in many things, was not perfect in all. In details of design, of form, of colour, of taste, and of proportion, there was still great progress to be made, and this truth needed to be drilled into the minds and memories of our employers and workmen to guide and stimulate them. The result has been very apparent. In no decade of our history has general improvement, in matters in which the British workman was admittedly deficient, been so apparent as in the epoch from 1851 to 1861. Within twelve months after the first International Fair, this effect was so apparent that the French Emperor and Government resolved to follow in the wake of England, and to inaugurate an International Exhibition at Paris, in 1855.

«There can be no doubt that the French Exhibition of 1855, effected in its way nearly as much benefit for France as that of 1851 did for England. Since the period we speak of, the French have applied themselves more and more to the arts that are most useful and necessary to man — arts in which they were formerly deficient — and have made sensible improvements in machinery, cutlery, cottons, pottery, hardware, carriages, and railway

plants; while we, long excelling in these handicrafts, have applied ourselves successfully, during these last eleven years, to the production of articles combining taste, form, colour and intellect, thus proving that the ideas and conception of the original founder of the scheme of 1851 were excellent and practicable... »

«Similar observations apply in an eminent degree to Belgium, who learns and combines from both France and England; and the same may be said in some degree of other surrounding nations. Nor is this surprising. Inventions, combinations, discoveries, improved methods and processes spring to light simultaneously in many fertile minds, and in many localities of all countries, but the knowledge is slow in spreading itself into general use. Its diffusion is quickened by international gatherings and exhibitions ».

That the governments were not slow to appreciate these advantages arising from the earlier expositions, is apparent. The President of the United States saw fit to include in a formal message, a report by Mr. Beckwith, on the value of the Paris Universal Exposition of 1867. After pointing out the usefulness of models and specimens in inculcating industrial ideas, he said: «The utility which experience ascribes to this method is indicated in France by a comparison of the provisions made for the exhibition of 1854 with those making for 1867. The first was entered upon timidly, the government relying chiefly on private capital and enterprise, on which the labour and risk were thrown. The latter has been taken up boldly as a business of state, and projected on a larger scale, contemplating an expenditure of twenty millions of francs, of which twelve millions are to be supplied from the public funds, leaving eight millions as the probable contribution of visitors ».

Thus, even at this time, the industrial quickening resulting from the first world expositions was so obvious that the governments concerned were anxious to give their most serious thought to the exhibitions.

Beneficial results were far from being conferred solely on the nations most nearly concerned in these expositions. For instance, at the date of the French Exposition of 1867, the manufacture of Bessemer steel had begun to assume great prominence in Europe, but was only introduced into one establishment in America where its practice was comparatively crude and unprofitable. One of the ten scientific commissioners appointed by the United States to study and report upon the Exposition, was assigned to the subject of iron and steel. As commissioner, every private establishment in England and France was open to him and he was thus enabled carefully to study the processes of manufacture, now so familiar but then so unknown to American metallurgists. Through this study and through introductions which he was enabled to arrange for American mechanical engineers, there was brought over a knowledge sufficient for the successful establishment of this business. In less than ten years, the United States had a manufacturing capacity for more than half a million tons of Bessemer steel annually; steel rails could be manufactured to compete with foreign rails, without regard to the tariff.

To the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, 1876, Carrol D. Wright, once commissioner of the United States Department of Labour, ascribed not only the industrial acceleration of his own country, but improvements in the manufactures of England and Germany.

A nation that possesses the best tools and the best processes, will be the most powerful economically and probably the most highly civilised. That all improvements can be detected, described and imparted, is essential. With this information disseminated throughout the world by competent experts, industrial progress would be universal.

There can be no doubt that the dissemination of such knowledge would lead to the quick adoption of all improvements worth while, to the standardisation of products and processes of production and through these to

the standardisation of prices, which, in their final analysis, when made under conditions of international competition, are dependent upon costs of production. Through the process of elimination, which would follow such a condition, the inefficient, those having high costs of production, those slow to learn, would drop by the wayside, turning their attention and their energies to the production of things for which they were better adapted, leaving the most efficient to produce for the world's markets those things which they can prepare at the lowest cost and of the highest quality. *Such a condition of adjusted international production and trade would normally result from the establishment of the World Centre, and its achievement would justify many times over the entire outlay of capital necessary to carry out this idea.*

One aspect of expositions is the recognition which they bring to the artist and producer as distinct from the merchant. An object of such exhibition is to call forth a universal competition and emulation among the artists of the world. What a wonderful influence it has in stimulating their powers and leading them to excel both in the conception and execution of their industries!

We may well expect that an emulation so powerfully excited may give a great stimulus to inventions, and that many new ideas and new contrivances may yet be brought to light; but it must be remembered that such systems of exhibitions trench more and more into that secrecy which has heretofore formed the chief capital stock of inventors. It becomes, in fact, their interest to bring to light whatever discovery they may have made, so that they may also obtain the benefit of the advance made by others in the same path. And thus inventions which it would have required many years to perfect and render available, are now, by the mutual aid of the inventors of all countries, brought speedily to practical use.

John Francis Macguire has summed up the stimulating effect of exposition on industry in this eloquent paragraph:

«Is it of no advantage,» I would ask, «to awaken intelligence, to excite emulation, to impart knowledge? Is it of no advantage to exhibit the gradual progress of a nation in the arts of civilised life, and urge the mind of a country to bolder efforts, and more glorious achievements? Is it of no advantage to educate the masses in a practical school of illustration, in which the object, and the use to which it is applied, are both explained, and in which every improvement is traced in the elegant arts, step by step, from the first rude effort, to the last approach of perfection? Is it of no advantage that the artist should be stimulated to a severer study of his profession, or inspired to nobler triumphs in his art — that the manufacturer should be roused to greater exertion, and to a juster view of his position in the field of enterprise — that the mechanic should receive new ideas, by which his labour might be enlightened, his skill assisted and his tastes refined?... What the Olympian games, and other public festivals of Greece were to the poet, the historian, or the sculptor, of former days, the exhibitions of modern times are to the inventor, the manufacturer and the artisan. Fame and honour are no longer confined to him who produces a poem, a tragedy, a history, a picture, or a statue; they are equally conferred, in these more practical days, upon him who adds to the comforts, or ministers to the material wants of the human family.»

Universal expositions furnish the analogy for another of the great advantages to be derived from a World Centre: the chance for each nation to exhibit to all the world those resources for the development of which she needs capital or labour, and in the development of which capital and labour can be most profitably employed. Economical production throughout the world depends upon the right distribution of capital and labour. *Only when the capitalists of all countries are fully informed as to where the best opportunities for investment lie, and when the labourers of all nations know where labour is scarcest and wages highest, will production be economical.*

World's fairs in the past have assisted toward the realisation of this ideal. They have exhibited the unknown natural resources of new lands and attracted capital and labour where both were needed. In a permanent exhibition such as the World Centre, properly arranged, would contain, this result could be more fully attained. The World Centre would indeed become the great clearing house of information as to large business opportunities throughout the world, regulating the flow of productive means this way and that as the demand might arise. Each nation would benefit, since *each nation would be able to secure that which is most needed for a rounded economic development. A perpetual display of the mineral, agricultural, and industrial resources of the world would do this. For this reason alone, the governments of the world could well afford to expend large sums in the founding of a World Centre.*

In such an exposition, not only would the national government maintain exhibits. Each section and province has natural advantages of its own, which with proper arrangement of display could be made comprehensible. Cities would show their attractions — whether these were natural resources, advantages of climate, or transportation facilities. The work now done by chambers of commerce, and often done poorly, could be effectively and economically performed by an exposition in the World Centre.

In addition to the Government exhibits of natural resources and business opportunities at the World Centre, individuals, corporations, industries and even localities and sections of the country might exhibit their respective products. Every country has some natural advantage; some are rich in mineral resources, and some have large forest areas, while others have an abundance of water power or large and fertile fields well adapted to agriculture. The ownership varies, but in many countries the ownership is in the hands of private individuals and firms. The owners often advertise the advantage of their holdings in order to interest capital and

labour and bring about a more rapid development of the properties in question.

There is no central agency for the collection and distribution of such information; there are no statistical means of comparing the business opportunities of one section with the business opportunities of another or the labour opportunities of one section with the labour opportunities of another. The result is that capital is often invested and labour employed in comparatively unproductive enterprises. *The service of the World City need not be confined to exhibits. Information could and should be collected and made accessible to all interested. This would mean the investment of capital in the most productive enterprises, an opportunity for labour to find employment and invest its savings to the greatest possible advantage.*

A change in the flow of capital and immigration has so often taken place as a result of universal expositions, that the development of natural resources has been a prominent motive behind the appropriations of governments toward these fairs. Through the Universal Exposition of 1867 France showed the world the conditions of her industrial resources, and the world unquestionably was impressed. She did not a little to develop fresh markets for her wares, especially in the East and in South America. She succeeded in diverting from London to Paris a great deal of business with the eastern nations. Many complaints were heard in London to that effect. On the whole, it is probable that, looking at the matter from a purely commercial standpoint, no nation ever made a better investment of a million and a half dollars than France did with this exhibition. She got her money back twenty-five or thirty times over in six months. She obtained a magnificent advertisement, and she started a large amount of fresh business of a profitable and improving character.

In that Exposition, the Governments of Spanish America saw their opportunity and voted a large sum for their representation there. They got their money back with in-

terest. The development of their countries has been affected to a considerable extent through French agencies and by French capital, and the profits have gone largely to France. The Paris Exposition of 1867 certainly raised the industrial prestige of France.

Canada received so great an impetus in the development of her resources from the fairs of 1851 and 1855, that her people anxiously petitioned the government for representation in 1867. A part of their argument ran :

« That as the result of the position taken by Canada in the Great Exhibition held in London in 1851, and in Paris in 1855, a knowledge of the vastness of the resources of this country has been spread throughout Europe, and large investments of capital have been made here tending to the rapid development of these resources. That this is evidenced alike by the high credit which the provincial securities have always since enjoyed, by the vast sums embarked in our railways and by the multiplication of agencies for the lending to Canadians of transatlantic capital for the improvement of real estate. It has been evinced by the establishment in this country of foreign consulates, and the development of its foreign trade as well as by the efforts made (in France especially) through those consulates further to develop and extend our commercial relations with other countries. It is also evidenced by the success of recent postal conventions with foreign governments, which, previously to 1851, did not believe Canada to be a country of sufficient resources to establish and maintain separate transatlantic postal communications. »

All of these are advantages that obviously would flow still more abundantly from a permanent exhibition with bureaus of information at a World Centre.

One of the United States Commissioners to the Exposition of 1867, wrote to Congress that « the efficiency of western exhibitors has been vitally important in saving the nation from failure. As it is, we

shall have splendid triumph, and we shall owe it exclusively to the West, and its wonderful products. Then, too, the enormous gain to this western continent by immigration. Who gets it but the West?»

Congressman Kelly's predication concerning the advantages sure to accrue to certain parts of America from displaying the nation's resources at the Vienna Exposition, in 1873, has come true. Immigration has filled up the districts he names. He said: «The Exhibition offers them an opportunity to make known to the industrial and oppressed people of eastern Europe the fact that we have unequalled deposits of all the mineral elements of manufactures lying in the midst of bodies of free lands, which may be occupied under the homestead law or bought at our minimum rates. Let me bring to the notice of the gentlemen a single fact in connection with a local fair recently held in Kansas City, Missouri, at which were exhibited as productions of the Indian territory, Kansas and Western Missouri, more than three thousand specimens of lead ore drawn from different deposits, or which had the ingredients in different association or degree. Make these facts known to the manufacturing people of eastern Europe and you would tempt an immigration of skill, of science and of capital, of which there would be no part of the valley of the Missouri that would not feel the benefit.»

These predictions have been fulfilled — the crowded populations have responded to the lure of empty lands and the piled up capital has flowed into the undeveloped fields. It took no prophetic vision to see

these things. The need for an outlet was there; given a glimpse of the outlet, the result was inevitable. And yet the work of populating, developing and exploiting the scarcely inhabited parts of the globe has but barely commenced. South America, Canada, South Africa, Australia, are as yet sparsely populated. Turkey, Asia, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Libya, French North Africa, were far more flourishing two thousand years ago than they are today, when our means of exploitation are larger and our grip on the earth forces immeasurably more secure. Today, large parts of undeveloped Africa might be colonised and developed. The Balkans might at last be thrown open to men of peace, after so long experiencing the rude hands of warriors. Siberia might well become the source of enormous economic wealth, were only its mineral deposits uncovered and its fertile plains cultivated. The broad table-lands of Central Asia, thought by many the birthplace of our race, must once have supported a population far greater than today. Let only these lands be thrown open to the public: only place before the eyes of all men a chart of riches untouched and opportunities neglected: the opening of the closed lands will surely follow and the civilised man will become the master of all the earth.

No less certain are the beneficial results in the distribution of the world's capital and labour which would come from the establishment of a World Centre. Only here, organised on a permanent and world-wide scale, the dissemination of information would not be left to chance. The adjustment of means to needs would be perfect.

CHAPTER VII.

CREATION OF NEW MARKETS AND STIMULATION OF BUSINESS.

The most instantaneous, most seemingly magical effect of international expositions, has been seen in the introduction, almost immediately afterward, of certain kinds of merchandise into regions where they had not previously been offered for sale. Exhibition at a world's fair brings any new article or kind of goods before the world's gaze; if it come forth victorious from the hard test of comparison with its rivals, its merits obtain world wide advertisement.

Since the first exhibition at London, in 1851, the great advantages obtainable by introducing new inventions or recently patented devices at a public exhibition have been recognised. In the years following 1851 many productions, among which the American reaper, began to be known. Today a great part of the civilised world would not be able to subsist as it now subsists, were it not for the mechanical reaper, which is bought in many forms and styles, but which remains practically the same, and is known almost wherever grain is cultivated.

Indeed, a practical country like the United States has well nigh paid its debt to Europe with the labour saving devices which its citizens have invented. Europe has sent to the United States twenty-five million emigrants in the last seventy-five years but there were in 1907 enough American harvesters in the fields of Europe to do the work of eleven million men.

World expositions give the good article its due and make the best and cheapest prevail throughout the world. Our axes, spades, scythes, locomotives, steamships, are better today than they were years ago, in large part because of competition and comparison at expositions. Conservative merchants whose goods had long since ceased to be superior, but who continued to trade on their name, found themselves suddenly confronted with a host of rivals, unknown competitors from all over the world; and the older merchants and manufacturers found themselves constrained to improve their products and cheapen their prices, under penalty of losing all their trade. Without expositions, old prejudices could not so quickly be conquered by new goods.

Certain nations seem to have a peculiar talent for the invention and constant amelioration of some one type of article. The more artistic nations lack practical utilitarian insight. Expositions enable the art loving nation, skilled in exquisite crafts, to exchange methods and products with the nations excelling in the rough and ready appliances of every day — to export fine lace and import washing machines or carpet sweepers. And both the lace makers and the manufacturers of washing machines, profit through having their goods made known to the entire world. For a market conquered in international competition is a steady market; the peasant who has once used an im-

proved steel hay fork, will never willingly abandon it for the wooden one which his father used.

Addressing the Royal Historical Society in reference to the Exposition of 1873, an Englishman, F. G. Moccat, said :

« Speaking of the exhibitions as then conducted, I remarked that no person who had watched the gradual development of public taste and the consequent increase of personal comfort in all that relates to the application of art and science to the purposes of every day life, can have failed to perceive how well the exhibition of 1851 had done its work, and how vast a debt of gratitude all civilised nations owe the illustrious and accomplished author of that landmark in the history of the present time, and indeed of all time ».

There is no doubt that the great exposition of 1851 awakened all nations to new life and set before them new objects of ambition, and a wider field for active life than had ever been dreamed of before. If so much could have been accomplished by this new expedient of civilisation at the outset of its career, retarded by the friction of a fresh start, what may we not expect to see a few years after the establishment of the World Centre?

Sometimes it is not manufactured but agricultural products which gain a wide use through world's fairs. A United States consul general, commenting on the Paris Exposition of 1867, expressed his regret that an exhibition could not have been made of the variety of ways in which Indian corn may be prepared for food. Fruitgrowing regions the world over need but the opportunity to expose their products in order to create a steady demand for them. Certain tropical fruits, well appreciated today but unknown in the temperate regions a few years ago, well illustrate the value of such publicity.

But we do not have to look to these periodic international expositions alone for

evidence of the fact that the proposed World Centre will be economically advantageous. The national and local exhibition, or « shows » as they are frequently called, where a certain product or line of industry is represented, have many times over demonstrated their effectiveness as advantageous means for introducing new commodities. The annual horse shows, now so popular in many large centres throughout the world, have afforded many opportunities for introducing new breeds of horses for various purposes. Dog shows have done much to popularise certain breeds of dogs, which were but little in popular favour before being thus publicly exhibited.

But more important than these various exhibitions of animals are the modern ones displaying industry. For example, at one of the world's largest cities within a few months, were held chemical, electrical, motor-boat, hardware, automobile, jewelry and business-device exhibitions, where many new inventions were first brought to the attention of the public and where capitalists were afforded numerous opportunities of ascertaining the merits of suggested investments.

Similar shows are held in the leading cities throughout the world, and everywhere is heard expressed the greatest enthusiasm for the advantages of such exhibitions in introducing new commodities designed to satisfy existing wants or readily to create new ones.

The national and individual commercial advantages gained from such exhibitions cannot be estimated in money. The World Centre because it will be centrally located and permanent, will afford a perpetual opportunity to inventors and promoters of all nations, and will thus prove to be an unrivalled stimulant to that constant amelioration of product which means steady markets and prosperous times.

Closely allied to the opportunity for introducing new machines and devices to the

investing and consuming public, is that offered for advertising and selling in broader and newer markets, goods of established reputation and merit.

The incidental pecuniary advantages arising from an exposition consist chiefly in the new impulses given to commercial life through the advertising advantages offered and the resulting sales. Human nature covets that which it sees and likes. With skilful advertising, the goods will create the demand. This is always true. So from an exposition many new wants arise, many new and almost unthought of desires are stimulated into being and the aggregate of these start the dull pulse of commerce with new and healthy throbs or quicken the actions of already active commerce.

It is not to be doubted that the World Centre would furnish a better opportunity for the training of salesmen and the development of new sales methods than now exists. It would enable sales representatives from all nations to meet in convention for the discussion of sales principles and methods peculiar to the various nations or the various lines of goods sold. At present, there is but little opportunity afforded to the commercial interests of the world for discussing and profiting by one another's experiences in the selling of goods in foreign markets. While it is not maintained that sales representatives for competing lines will give to one another information gathered from experience, there is a large field for the exchange of such information among noncompeting concerns whose goods supplement or complement each other. It is in this field that the maintenance of centrally located representatives should prove of great economic value.

Such an exhibition — placed in a World Centre and thereby brought into contact with the best endeavour of all nations — would tend to stimulate demand and production upon lines of actual utility, rather than upon those of creating artificial demands and supplies.

The probable advantages of the World Centre plan in introducing new products were exemplified on a smaller scale at the recent Panama-Pacific Exposition. There a personal investigation was conducted for the purpose of this report. At the Palace of Horticulture were found exhibits of many new and wonderful flowers and plants, exhibits maintained in some cases at the cost of many thousands of dollars. Florists, herbalists, and botanists were announcing to the world for the first time, an improvement in or perfection of both useful and ornamental products of nature. Many men, trained in the science of plant and flower life, were spending much time studying the exhibited works of others so that they too might get ideas and prepare for later exhibitions, still newer and more wonderful varieties.

But more particularly, in the Palace of Varied Industries, Liberal Arts, Manufactures and Mines, were the big industrial improvements to be noted. The exposition was primarily a commercial one, permitting the display of modern products only, goods manufactured or produced within very recent years. Everywhere wonderful inventions and discoveries were at hand, arranged and exhibited to attract investors and consumers.

One of the largest copper mining companies in the world maintained an exhibit at the cost of about \$ 100,000 for the purpose of making known to its many stockholders who might visit the exposition, the nature of its products, its sources of raw materials, and the location of its chief plants. To the consumer, it demonstrated new and varied uses for its products.

The Witwatersrand Gold Fields were exhibited by the Transvaal Chamber of Mines, Limited, of Johannesburg, Union of South Africa, partially for patriotic reasons, partially as a compliment to California miners, but also as an appeal for American capital to assist in the development of the wonderful mining resources of that as yet insufficiently known district.

To a certain comparatively little known company of inventors, the Panama Pacific Exposition offered an opportunity which they could not have developed in many years for promoting one of their inventions into a successful enterprise.

Several large international companies maintained exhibits costing approximately a quarter of a million dollars. They would not have done so unless they had felt certain that exhibition at an international exposition pays.

In order to ascertain the general consensus of opinion among the men actually on the ground, the representatives of hundreds of well known concerns, manufacturing goods sold throughout the United States and, in some cases, throughout the world, were interviewed at the Panama Pacific Exposition. Almost without exception these men were extremely enthusiastic as to the advantages accruing from their respective exhibits. There were, it is true, a few disappointed exhibitors. These few disappointments were not hard to explain. In some cases, the exhibits were not well located; in others, there was a lack of a proper regard for the psychology of advertising. The exhibits were not so arranged as to attract the eye of the passer-by or hold the attention of the observer. In other words, they were not properly arranged to sell.

Many concerns producing novelty goods to be sold at a low price were reaping a rich harvest out of their exposition advertising. They were not dependent upon the indirect influence of the exhibit but were selling direct to the prospect and, in many cases, were delivering from the booth the goods sold. Typical of this class were the sculptors from Europe, many importers of Oriental and European novelties, producers of novelty mineral products, patented surgical appliances and the like.

Other concerns, manufacturing a wide range of useful household devices, tools, instruments, food products, toilet articles and

the like, were taking orders for goods to be shipped from the factory. These do not represent so much the bazar type of selling as do the other class, and their experiences are more valuable.

There was still another class of exhibitors who did not expect direct results from their exhibits, whose returns were indirect and harder to check, but whose enthusiasm for an exposition as a means for stimulating commerce in their goods was as great if not greater than that of representatives of either of the other classes. In this class must be included the manufacturers of farm machinery, mill and operative machinery, engines, motors, iron and steel, hardware and tools, leather and cork goods, oil products, automobiles, chemicals, paints and explosives, appliances for public utility companies, publishers, office devices such as cash registers, multigraphing and adding machines and typewriters, plumbing and steam-fitting appliances, electrical goods, including motors, dynamos, heaters, stoves and miscellaneous utensils, furniture, athletic goods, pool and billiard tables, clocks, watches, silverware, jewelry and a wide variety of manufactured and prepared food products.

Representatives of concerns in this class reported that the exposition possessed splendid advertising advantages. Some of them at the time they were interviewed had been notified by the home office of large sales resulting directly from the exhibit, sales which otherwise probably would not have been made. Many of the concerns had exhibited at earlier fairs, trade shows and the like and considered that the results warranted further participation at this most recent exhibition.

It cannot be doubted that they could reap the same or greater advantage through participation in the proposed World Centre, where expositions will be less fleeting in their nature, better regulated in the awarding of merits, and in their selection of exhibitors and commodities of exhibit, and such benefits naturally apply to exhibitors of all nations. For the World Centre would serve

in an unmistakable manner to stimulate inventions of all sorts. Any inventor will there have the opportunity of exhibiting an invention of merit in such a way as to attract the attention of the whole world. The common spectacle of inventors dying poor because of inability to secure the necessary amounts of capital, indicated the importance of stimulating invention in this manner. While there are now many splendid ways for bringing meritorious appliances of all kinds to the attention of the public, for the most part they are both slow and expensive and far beyond the means and patience of many men. As a consequence, inventive genius is not properly fostered and the economic progress of the world is held in check. Immediate and universal recognition of gen-

ius and merit will result from the realisation of the World Centre plan and will prove of inestimable value to the business world. The World Centre as it is now projected will afford better opportunities than now exist for the accomplishment of all these purposes. The buildings will be permanent; the exhibitions will be under the general control of the national governments; competition, because it is world-wide, will be keener; the appeal to investor and consumer will be stronger, because of its enlarged scope; the returns will be greater. The manufacturer may show his goods to a world-market — almost instantly a new product may come into world-wide use, and no longer need inventor and manufacturer wait for the slow process of conquering one market at a time.

- I. TOWER OF PROGRESS
 MONUMENTAL CENTRE OF CITY
 SYMBOL OF HUMAN PROGRESS:
 BASE: INTERNATIONAL PRESS'
 BUREAU.
 BODY: INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION
 OFFICES.
 SUMMIT: WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY

- II. INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE
 III. TEMPLE OF RELIGIONS.
 IV. INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND LAW
 BUILDING.
 V. ELECTRICITY AND INVENTION.

SCIENTIFIC

CENTRE

VI. MEDICINE, SURGERY AND HYGIENE

X

X

- VII. AGRICULTURE AND TRANSPORTATION
 VIII. REFERENCE LIBRARY.
 IX. INTERNATIONAL BANK OR CLEARING HOUSE.
 X. NATIONAL BUILDINGS.

NATIONAL BUILDING SCHEMATIC PLAN

- I. MAIN ENTRANCE
 II. RAISED MAP OF THE COUNTRY
 AND ITS COLONIES
 III. EXHIBITION ROOMS OF NATURAL
 PRODUCTS:
 FORESTRY
 MINING
 AGRICULTURE ETC.
 IV. MACHINERY HALL
 V. CIVIC PLANNING
 SECOND FLOOR:
 REPRESENTATIVES
 OFFICES.

- VI. INDUSTRIES.
 VII. SOCIAL PROGRESS.
 VIII. RECEPTION HALLS.
 IX. CONFERENCE AND LECTURE ROOMS.
 X. ROTUNDA.
 SECOND FLOOR:
 ADMINISTRATION
 OFFICES.

CHAPTER VIII.

COMMERCIAL ADVANTAGES OF THE WORLD CENTRE.

The continual growth of permanent trade associations and temporary expositions gives reason for predicting the construction at a not distant date of a carefully planned World Centre. Evolution toward permanent organisation seems inevitable. In the United States it is instanced by the Field Museum, which is an outgrowth of the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893, and by the Philadelphia Commercial Museum, developed from the Centennial Exposition of 1876. This latter museum, until recently, has been the most powerful single factor in the United States for the development of export markets for American products.

THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE.

But the greatest example of a temporary exhibition which has led to the development of a permanent trade organisation, is afforded by the experience of India. Because of the light that this experience may throw upon the desirability of a World Centre it may be well to consider it somewhat in detail.

The Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886 was very successful; in particular, it revealed so thoroughly the immense wealth of Great Britain and created such widespread interest that the late King Edward, then Prince of Wales, placed himself at the head of the public movement for the establishment in London of a permanent exhibition of Indian and Colonial products.

When the question of a suitable jubilee memorial of Queen Victoria's reign was discussed, in 1887, it was decided that an Imperial Institute, permanent in its nature and erected by means of voluntary contributions from the people of the British Empire, would be the best and most useful form for the memorial to take, more especially as it was announced that the Queen herself desired it.

Accordingly, the Imperial Institute was erected at South Kensington. It was officially opened by the Queen in May 1893.

The principal object of the Institute is to promote the utilisation of the commercial and industrial resources of the Empire: first, by arranging comprehensive exhibits of natural products, especially of the Dominions, the Colonies and India; and secondly by providing for the obtaining, collection, and dissemination of scientific, technical, and commercial information relating to them.

As originally outlined, the purposes of the Institute were as follows:

The formation and exhibition of collections, representing the important raw materials and manufactured products of the British Empire and of other countries, so maintained as to illustrate the development of agriculture, commercial and industrial progress in the British Empire, and the comparative advance made in other countries;

The establishment and promotion of commercial museums, sample rooms, and intelligence offices in London and other parts of the Empire;

The collection and dissemination of such information relating to trades and industries, to emigration, and to the other purposes set forth as may be of use to the subjects of the British Empire;

The promotion of technical and commercial education and of the industrial arts and sciences;

The promotion of conferences and lectures in connection with the general works of the Institute and the facilitating of commercial and friendly intercourse among the inhabitants of the different parts of the British Empire; and

The doing of anything incidental or conducive to carrying into effect all or any of the foregoing purposes.

The work of the Imperial Institute is at present carried on under four principal divisions: — firstly, the colonial and Indian collection, consisting mainly of raw materials, the primary manufactures displayed in the public exhibition galleries, and including the central stand for receiving inquiries and distributing publications; secondly, the scientific and technical research department, comprising a special staff, and research laboratories occupying the second floor and basement; thirdly, the reference library, containing a large collection of works of reference relating to the Dominions, the Colonies and India, together with the principal periodicals and newspapers of these dominions or colonies; fourthly, the *Bulletin of the Imperial Institute*, a quarterly publication containing a record of the work of the Imperial Institute in its various branches, as well as special articles on progress in tropical agriculture and industries, and the commercial utilisation of the natural resources of the Dominions, the Colonies and India.

Until the end of 1902, the Imperial Institute was managed by a governing body, of which the Prince of Wales, (afterwards Edward VII) was president, and an executive council, including representatives of the Indian Empire and of all the British colonies and dependencies.

But, after some other changes, on October 1st, 1907, in virtue of an arrangement made with the Board of Trade and with the approval of the Secretary of State for India, the management of the Imperial Institute was transferred to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, subject to the responsibility of the Board of Trade under the act of 1902. A committee of management of three members, one nominated by each of the three governmental departments chiefly concerned, was appointed.

The staff of the Imperial Institute includes officers with special qualifications, in the sciences of chemistry, botany, geology, mineralogy and technology in their relation to agriculture and the commercial utilisation of economic products.

The following British Dominions, Colonies and Dependencies are represented by collections, which are in charge of technical superintendents — Canada, Newfoundland, Jamaica, Turks and Caicos Islands, British Honduras, British Guiana, Bahamas, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, Windward Islands, Leeward Islands, Bermuda, Falkland Islands, New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, Tasmania, South Australia, Western Australia, Papua, New Zealand, Fiji, Western Pacific Islands, Union of South Africa, Rhodesia, Nyasaland, St. Helena, Gambia, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, Nigeria, East Africa Protectorate, Zanzibar and Pemba, Uganda, Somaliland, The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Malta, Cyprus, Ceylon, Hong-Kong, Mauritius, Seychelles, Straits Settlements, the Federated Malay States and the Indian Empire.

Special arrangements are made to conduct parties from schools through the Colo-

nial and Indian collections, for educational purposes.

A central stand for publications and an inquiry office in the main gallery facilitate the supply of general information and the distribution of literature. Handbooks, pamphlets and miscellaneous circulars containing information relating to the commerce, agriculture, mining and industries of the principal British Colonies and also in regard to emigration, are available for gratuitous distribution or to be sold. The publications of the Emigrants Information Offices, established by the Colonial Office, may also be obtained; lists of publications available for sale or distribution are provided, and the principal colonial and Indian newspapers may be seen on application. An officer of the Institute is in attendance at the central stand, which is in telephonic communication with the departments in the main building.

In 1913, the public galleries were visited by 214,900 persons and 19,910 colonial and Indian publications were distributed to inquirers.

THE SCIENTIFIC & RESEARCH DEPARTMENT.

The research laboratories and work-rooms of this department were established in order to provide for the investigation of new or little-known natural products from the Dominions, the Colonies and India and of the known products from new sources, with a view of their utilisation in commerce. The department also furnished trustworthy scientific and technical advice on matters connected with the agricultural trade and industries of the different countries of the British Empire.

The work of this department is chiefly initiated by the Home and Colonial Government and the Government of India. Arrangements also have been made by the Foreign Office whereby British representatives abroad may transmit to the department, for investigation, such natural products of the coun-

tries to which they are appointed as are likely to be of interest to British manufacturers and merchants.

Materials investigated by the research laboratories of the department are afterwards submitted to further technical trials by manufacturers and other experts, and finally are commercially valued.

A reference sample room is maintained in this department in which are arranged samples of the principal materials which have been investigated and valued commercially during recent years, and as to which full information is available.

If these temporary expositions have brought forth the great need for and have led to the establishment of such vast permanent commercial organisations, whose influences have been world wide and whose value no one doubts, how much more good might result from the establishment of an international series of such enterprises, centrally located and grouped so as to facilitate the quick interchange of intelligence? Imagine a sort of Imperial Institute from each country, grouped in one city, with certain features in common. The efficiency of each would be greatly heightened by the mere presence of its neighbours. Information, statistics, new products and processes would be disseminated throughout the entire world as rapidly as the British Imperial Institute can today spread them throughout the British Empire.

Such a perpetual exposition, established in a World Centre, supplemented by bureaus for the gathering and dissemination of commercial information, and by travelling exhibits to carry the advantages home to the nations of the world, will hasten the economic progress of the world. By no other method than the comparison in such an exhibition of the manufactured products from different countries can the improvement of methods of manufacture be so rapidly fostered. This international expositions have shown to be true.

Here, at one point, the nations of the world may show their natural resources, informing capitalists in what country and in what industry the largest returns are to be gained, and attracting immigration where the labour is scarce and wages are high.

UTILISATION & PROTECTION OF LABOUR.

The World Centre will afford, through the maintenance of central information bureaux, a clearing house for all intelligence concerning the utilisation and protection of labour. Government reports concerning labour in all its aspects will be transmitted to and collected here for ready reference and research purposes. International labour organisation maintaining permanent headquarters can better keep track of labour opportunities, over-supply and prevailing wage and operative conditions, thus enabling the officials to direct intelligently the general movements of the floating supply of labour away from underpaid and over-crowded districts to places affording larger opportunities for work and better wages. The work that is now carried on in many countries on a district or national basis can be extended, becoming international in its scope and correspondingly more effective in its operation.

In the same way, promoters of new enterprises requiring the employment of large labour forces, can report their demands to this central headquarters, thus better assuring themselves of the supply of labour needed. While it is true that unofficial reports are now generally circulated concerning such opportunities for labourers, these reports are not official and frequently are emitted from unreliable sources, working injury and hardships upon the labourers affected. Official reports, from a central agency possessing a detailed knowledge of labour conditions, would prevent the evils now frequently arising from the circulation of false information.

It is not maintained here that an ideal distribution of labour will result. But it is believed that the ideal can more nearly be reached through the development of the cen-

tral agencies at the World Centre than would otherwise be possible.

Employers of labour would find, through this central office, a better means for receiving or circulating information concerning improvements in the utilisation of labour, means but scantily afforded now in some countries and not at all in others. Scientific management, for example, has been developed rapidly in the United States, through the interest of private individuals. But no official central agency to furnish information concerning its adaptability, its shortcomings or its development is in existence. The growth of scientific management has undoubtedly been hampered because of this fact.

Other means for increasing the efficiency of workmen have been suggested from time to time. Many of these have exerted but little or no influence, because there was no official way of bringing them to the attention of employers and others interested. The World Centre will provide such means and will thus enable labour to enlarge its contribution to the total production of the world, perfect its producing processes, and increase its just reward.

Of much importance also to both labourer and employer is the advantage offered for studying, developing, and promoting various kinds of helpful welfare work, designed to improve the conditions under which the workmen labour. Without a central clearing house for the dissemination of such useful information, many praiseworthy efforts or schemes for strengthening the bond between the two classes must go unheralded and unnoticed. Organised to furnish any employer or labourer information concerning any and every phase of welfare work, to keep abreast of labour conditions and their improvement, such a bureau would be of inestimable value to the industrial world. The labouring men not only in the more industrial countries but throughout the world, need such a bureau. It should be established. It can best be established and made

effective as a part of a general scheme, such as is here proposed. If organised independently by either industrial class, it would be met with suspicion by the other and so be limited to narrower and less useful work.

STABILISING PRODUCTION.

Still another important commercial advantage offered in the plan suggested lies in the possibility of preventing over-production and in the consequent checking of depression, through the interchange of information gathered from all nations by an international organisation studying trade conditions and activity on a world-wide basis. Many panics and nearly all commercial depressions are the result of over production in certain fields of industry during periods of prosperity — over-production brought about by overconfidence in the continuation of favourable trade conditions.

While it is neither contemplated nor suggested that any bureau should have control over production, limiting it at will, it is believed that a fuller knowledge of the conditions of trade, a knowledge which could be obtained and imparted by a competent bureau of trade experts, would lead to caution and curtailment of production whenever these were necessary. As it is now, with no such central bureau investigating these conditions, it is necessary for each manufacturer, farmer, miner and banker to determine them independently, relying upon such information as he is able to secure in an independent manner. Economic history teaches that this system has not been effective; panics and depressions occurring at more or less regular periods of time, rather than being prevented.

This condition is undoubtedly brought about by the ever increasing complexity of business, which now makes it impossible for a single individual to grasp a knowledge of all the essential conditions which must be taken into consideration. Working alone, each one necessarily over-estimates the importance of conditions which immediately

confront him and neglects those about which he has no information. Being unable to gather information from all international sources and guided by local domestic conditions, he becomes over optimistic during periods of prosperity and over pessimistic during periods of depression. This exaggerated condition, on the one hand, leads to accumulated over-production while, on the other hand, it leads to continual depression and underproduction.

Among the many features of the scheme proposed, is the creation and maintenance of an international bureau of trade and transport which would be equipped with the facilities for studying these conditions of trade and commerce over the entire world and for furnishing the information thus gathered to all persons interested. The knowledge of the conditions affecting both producer and consumer, which could be collected by a bureau of this kind properly equipped, would be sufficient to protect the world against over production and speculation and to check the effects of a period of depression.

One international panic prevented or one period of general depression shortened would more than compensate for the total cost of erecting the World Centre. The opportunity offered to perform this possible service should lead all business men, all producers and all consumers to favour the establishment of the World Centre and to contribute their taxes liberally for its support.

DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE.

Another important commercial advantage and, from the standpoint of the individual business man and tax payer, perhaps the most important advantage to be gained from the establishment of the World Centre, will be the influence exerted and opportunity offered for the development of international trade.

That international exhibitions are effective means for developing such trade, is well illustrated by the fact that Japan first gained

a foothold in American commerce at the World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893, that the Philippine Islands first introduced an extensive line of native products at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis in 1904, that the South American countries found both of these and the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo valuable mediums for the introduction of their commodities, and that the United States has found, as already suggested, that the more important expositions in Europe have been the means for large increases resulting in its foreign trade with the leading European nations.

Testimony is everywhere at hand to prove that, in the past, expositions have fostered between nations trade which otherwise would have been much slower in developing or would not have developed at all.

Peter Lund Simmons, writing in the Royal Society of Arts Journal of November 29, 1861, summarised the advantages of the Exhibition of London, 1851, as follows :

« To Great Britain, the International Exhibition of 1851 certainly opened a wider range to customers from the more intimate appreciation that followed of the quality and cheapness of the manufactures she produced. Instead of being flooded, as was anticipated with cheap foreign goods, a greater vent for British manufactures has been afforded in the last ten years than at any former period. In every direction our foreign trade has been more than doubled. To South America our exports have risen from six million pounds in value to twelve and one half million; to China, from under one million to nearly three; to African States, in about the same ratio; to the North American Republic, from under 15 millions to 21,613,000; to the States of Europe, from 25,200,000 to 46,000,000. And as regards the continent, and indeed, most other quarters, it is those very nations which took most active part in the Great Exposition of 1851, that show the greatest increase, and have become our best customers, such as France, Prussia, Russia, Holland,

Germany and Turkey. Our general trade has doubled. The real value of the external trade of the Kingdom (imports and exports) last year reached the large sum of £ 276,319,296, of which £ 210,648,643 was in imports. The extension of commercial relations with various countries, the more thorough knowledge of our productive resources and the quality of our manufactures by foreigners, has had much to do with the increase. And certainly, the British exhibitors will, I think, be able to show next year that there has been no retrogression; that science and skill have been largely developed, and that even the education of our workmen has not been neglected, thanks to the labours of the Department of Science and Art...

« The total declared value of our exports to foreign countries in 1850 was £ 52,739,246, and in 1860, £ 117,988,399. Although it cannot be assumed that this immense progress is entirely attributable to the better appreciation of our wares by foreign countries, and the new markets opened up to our manufacturers by the Great Exhibition of 1851, yet I think that it will not be denied that great benefits resulted from the interchange of ideas in 1851. Our friendly relations with many of the nations of Europe have been more closely cemented. In Hyde Park and in the Champs Elysées we demonstrated what we could do in the way of excellence and cheapness. Enterprise has been stimulated — commerce extended; our principal manufactures have been enormously increased; steam and sail have carried the products of our industry into regions before unopened to trade ».

Commenting in Congress upon the advantage to the United States of exhibiting at the French Exposition of 1867, Mr. Grinnel said :

« Now, Sir, pass this bill, give dignity to this enterprise and encouragement to the people; and what will be the effect? Why, Sir, from my own state there will go more than one hundred sheep that will be purchased to improve the finest flocks of Germany,

Spain, and France. The American plow and axe and shovel and hoe and spade will again bear off the palm. The reaper from the West, with its modern improvements, will again excite the envy, the admiration, and the wonder of Europe. And, Sir, our machinery, with its improvements made during the war, will convince Europe that we are not only greatest in war, but that even in the midst of war, we are still greater in the arts of peace. »

In support of the expositions of 1889, « M. Le Rapporteur » said in the French *Chambre des Députés* :

« A long time ago they said that the time for expositions had passed ; they even said it at the very close of the Exposition of 1867, and Mr. M. Le Play himself did not believe in the success of the Exposition, since he proposed the creation of permanent general museums.

« Nevertheless, the Exposition of 1867 was very beautiful ; it succeeded admirably from the point of view of finance. There was held then that of 1878, which was incontestably as an exposition and independent of the question of expenses, a very great and a very magnificent national success. Well, I am convinced that for other reasons the Exposition of 1889 will be a still greater success than those which have preceded it.....

« It cannot be disputed that when expositions are held in a country like France, they have for their results an incontestable increase in manufactures and in commerce ».

Among the reports on the Vienna Universal Exhibition of 1873, contained in the British Parliamentary Papers, is the following suggestive paragraph :

« Her Majesty's Commissioners are informed that the customs duties paid on the English goods exhibited at Vienna, and sold at the close of the Exhibition for the Austro-Hungarian Empire, exceeded those paid by any other country. There is no question that

the Exhibition has had the effect of making the specialities of British manufacture more widely known in Austria, and even in Eastern markets, and it appears to us beyond doubt that its direct results upon the industry of the British Empire have been such as fully to justify the expenditure incurred by this country, while considerable advantages may be expected to accrue to our producers beyond those more immediately resulting from the exhibition. »

From the report of the Superior Commission appointed by the French Government to investigate the Universal Exposition of Vienna in 1873, the following two paragraphs are significant :

« Perhaps as a consequence of the circumstances under which the exposition of 1873 was opened, as a consequence of financial disasters which have overtaken the exposition at Vienna from the first month of its opening, as a consequence also of exaggerated reports of an epidemic which has not up to the present presented a character truly serious, our fellow-countrymen have gained only a part of the advantages which they had a right to expect.

« But I have the conviction that these results are only put off and that the French exhibitors will not have cause to regret the sacrifices which have been imposed upon them. I judge by the importance of transactions already put through, by all that I have heard from the mouths of the manufacturers themselves, as well as by what I have seen during several days myself. I have gone over all of the exhibits in great detail and I judge this from the incontestable favour which our products enjoy in the capital of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. »

Congressman Caperton, in urging the appropriation for the Centennial at Philadelphia, 1876, said :

« I can only refer to our past experience in regard to those expositions to which Congress has made appropriations. Take the Vienna Exposition. What was the result of

that? Our artisans went there and made an exposition of their various arts and manufactures, and the result was a very great enlargement of our trade with nations that had never perhaps had any or very limited trade with us. I saw it stated somewhere the other day, and I have no doubt of the truth of it, that in the articles of leather, and in leather goods, a trade which amounted to \$ 300,000 or \$ 400,000 was increased to some \$ 7,000,000 or \$ 8,000,000. I saw it stated further, and it is a fact which I have no doubt has come to the attention of the distinguished Senator from Connecticut, that one concern in Hartford went to Vienna and exhibited the machinery that it had wrought for the purpose of working in iron and steel, and such was the effect that in a short time thereafter there was an order from the Prussian Government for machinery to make a million rifles, and that company actually put in their pockets the sum of £ 800,000 for the machinery which it furnished..... ».

Arguing for the same appropriation, Mr. Randolph said :

« It is no exaggeration to say that the impetus given to trade and commerce through the exposition will, in the judgment of our best commercial men, our reflecting, thoughtful men, men who wield millions of trade themselves each year, be worth more to the people of this country in general return, through absolute gain, than all the moneys that will be expended by authority of the Congress of the United States. The gathered multitudes, the vast agricultural, mechanical and artistic display, the attractive forces will do more to germinate the single element needed — public confidence — than any other movement Congress can now give aid to ».

Monsieur Henri Lavertujon, arguing for the Exposition of 1900, said before the *Chambre des Députés* :

« It cannot be denied that they (expositions) give an impetus to the productive activity of nations, and especially of the

nations who organise them, to present themselves to the world in all their strength, an impetus, an outburst, a fever of invention, which starts a fruitful emulation in all branches of national industry and almost always marks a new step forward in the way of progress. It would be a mistake to believe that the results of this great effort are only the gratification of vanity and that the country does not draw any progress from them ». And further : « From them comes this increase of exportation both before and after them which makes the fortune of so many French houses. These houses are not only met with in Paris. It is not the Parisian industries alone which gain through expositions; they gain the greater part, without doubt, but our large industries are none the less made known, and as they are sometimes overlooked by reason of their distance from the centre of things, they find an opportunity of revealing themselves, which often decides their success or failure ».

« I have consulted the figures of our exports for some years before and after our four large expositions. It has seemed to me that this was the surest criterion of the prosperity of our foreign commerce.

« Let us then take first the exposition of 1855. I see that in 1852, our exports were 1,541,000,000 francs; in 1854, 1,413,000,000 francs; in 1865, the year of the exposition, they increased to 1,558,000,000 francs, or about 10 per cent. The years following they are 1,893,000,000 francs or 34 per cent; 1,866,000,000 francs; 1,887,000,000 francs.

« Thus then, the Exposition of 1855 is marked by a sudden increase in our exports which amounts to 400,000,000 francs in two years.

« Let us pass on to the Exposition of 1867. In 1865 our exports were 3,089,000,000 francs; in 1866, they rose to 3,118,000,000 francs. In 1867, the year of the exposition, a decrease is noticed, the exports are 2,826,000,000 francs; in 1868, they were only 2,791,000,000 francs. But this decrease dis-

appeared in 1869, the receipts rose to 3,075,000,000. Unfortunately the war came and we fell off in 1870 to 2,802,000,000 francs.

« Let us now take the Exposition of 1878. In 1876, the amount of our exports was 3,575,000,000 francs; in 1877, they fell off to 3,436,000,000 francs. In 1878, the year of the Exposition, a new falling off, immediately followed by an increase which does not stop; our exports were 3,178,000,000 francs. The figures for the years which followed are : 3,321,000,000 francs : 3,467,000,000 francs : 3,561,000,000 francs : 3,574,000,000 francs, an increase of 12 per cent by 1882. Let us see now the most interesting exposition of all, that is, the last, 1889. The three years which precede the Exposition of 1889 were particularly remarkable because of the regularity in the amount of exports. In 1866, there were 3,249,000,000 francs; in 1887, 3,244,000 francs; in 1888, 3,246,000,000 francs; in 1889, the year of the Exposition, we jumped abruptly to 3,703,000,000 francs. This is an increase of 450,000,000 francs, approximately 14 per cent. In 1890, our exports rose to 3,753,000,000 francs, of 500,000,000 francs more than before the Exposition of 1889, an increase of 15 per cent.

« In 1891, we lose a little. The amount of our exports was 3,569,000,000 francs. Going on from this time, the new tariff schedule enters and we can no longer use these figures for an argument.

« Our manufacturers, who have so many good qualities; have one great fault. They do not know how to leave home, they do not go to foreign lands, as do our neighbours, and carry the goods to the very hand of the purchaser, while at the time of the Exposition, it is the clientèle itself which comes to Paris. The foreigner can see in the show-cases the objects which we exhibit, he compares what we manufacture with what they sell him at home; his choice is soon made, and those who come to the exposition soon become customers of France.

« From the point of view of the indus-

trial exposition for the fortune of France, I have proved by irrefutable statistics that our commerce, our industries, our agriculture can only gain by it; I have proved that aside from the moral benefits which we will draw in foreign countries, Paris and the Departments, the capital and the provinces will derive from it considerable advantages ».

In a splendid work published in London in 1870, entitled « Home Politics : or, the Growth of Trade considered in its Relation to Labour, Pauperism and Emigration », Daniel Grant devotes much space to a consideration of expositions and their influence on foreign trade. Attention to portions of this treatise should be called. In part, Mr. Grant writes as follows :

« Let us pass to the consideration of the influences that exhibitions are supposed to have exercised on trade. At the opening of the exhibition of 1851, the whole of the circumstances, that could produce a successful result, were brought freely into play. Imperial pageantry, international courtesy and diplomatic suavity were all made to aid the development of a royal idea, and the success of the exhibition, simply as an exhibition, was unequalled. Not only as a mere show was the effort successful; its influence on trade was also very large. For the first time in history, nations were invited from all parts of the world to take part in rendering homage to mere commercial pursuits; and for the first time it was proclaimed as a principle, that trade was paramount; dreams of universal peace and universal brotherhood were largely indulged in, until they were disturbed by the rude utterances of war.

« Yet with all this, there were some results that were left unchallenged. The exhibition ennobled commerce; men from various parts of the world had learned to look upon trade, and more particularly English trade, from a point of view that they had never previously approached, and the result was that the trading relations were not only cemented but extended. The ideas associated with our Palace of Industry were those of

royalty, wealth and elegance, and all these were aided by the very structure of the building, as it rose in its fragile beauty, spanning the noble trees and looking out to the clear sky beyond. To ourselves as well as to others, it was a great lesson, the influence of which has not yet died out. It taught us not only what we could, but what we could not do, and it placed before us by illustration, stronger than any language, how much inferior our art productions were to those of our compeers; and from that teaching has emanated our South Kensington Museum and our present demand for technical education.

« All of these things influence trade, both directly and indirectly. In an earlier part of this chapter it was pointed out that the personal knowledge of buyer and seller forms an important link in the growth of trade, and, in one sense, the first exhibition aided this. Men, who for years had known each other by name, came to know each other as a matter of fact, and thus built up relations that produced mutual good. The mere prestige of the « world's bazar » brought men from every quarter of the habitable world and they carried away with them to their distant homes memories of English productions, that have since borne fruit. At the time, among the whole of our manufacturers, it was recognised as an unchallengeable fact, that the exhibition had stimulated trade, that orders were plentiful and that its success was great.

« The statistics do more than bear this point out; the bound in our exports is both clear and decisive. It will be necessary to notice here that the direct results of the exhibition would not be manifest until the year after it had closed, and would not probably extend twelve months beyond. The exhibition did not close until the end of the year, the orders given during the time would be delivered partly in the year 1851 and partly in 1852, and the return orders some months later, so that the effects would appear in the following year. The statistics here given show very markedly the growth of our exports at the particular epochs.

« Our exports in 1851 were 74,448,722 pounds.

« Our exports in 1852 were 79,076,854 pounds.

« Our exports in 1853 were 98,933,781 pounds.

« Showing an advance in the two years of 24,485,059 pounds or 33 per cent. The same results are apparent in the two years of the second exhibition :

« Our exports in 1862 were 123,992,264 pounds.

Our exports in 1863 were 146,602,342 pounds.

Our exports in 1864 were 160,449,053 pounds.

« Showing an advance in the two years of 36,456,789 or 29 per cent.

« In looking at these figures, it must be remembered that the results here manifested embrace the action of other causes beside that of the exhibition. For instance, in 1851, the gold fever in Australia was in full swing, and there was also flowing from our shores the emigration that followed the Irish famine; both these causes would combine to swell the returns of 1852, 1853. At the second exhibition another influence was at work, the results of which are quite manifest, viz : the operations brought into play in connection with Limited Liability. This act came into operation in full force in 1864. The result is manifested in the returns of our export trade in that year, and also in those of 1865 and 1866. To some, it may appear dubious that the Limited Liability Act should have this influence; a little examination will show the reason why. There is no question that, at the time of the speculation mania, companies for every conceivable purpose were floated into existence, some useful, some stupid and more mere frauds; but whether good, bad or indifferent; whether they paid dividends or not; whether they ruined shareholders or not, during the time of their existence they stimulated trade. To what extent they acted may be gathered from a statement that appeared in the Money Article of the Times, in which it was stated that

during the continuance of the mania, companies, representing a capital of 800 millions, had either been projected or actually floated. A mere moiety of the amount here named would be sufficient to explain a large increase in speculative trading.

« Our trading with Holland had shown no development from 1840 to 1851; over the whole of these years we have slight fluctuations, but nothing more. The years 1861, 1862, 1863 and 1864 all show larger amounts of exports than the remainder of the years including that of 1851. We may therefore assume that the trade with Holland was absolutely stationary, until the new influences of the exhibition and the reduction of its own tariff came into play. It seems only fair to consider these two causes as acting in unison. For instance, the reform of the Dutch Tariff took place in 1850, yet the next year shows no advance; the returns for the two years being almost identical in amount, whilst the two years that follow the exhibition show an advance of nearly one million.

« The returns of Belgium show no positive increase until the Exhibition year 1862, and from that date they have advanced continuously.

« The conditions connected with trade have been traced through three phases. First, on the broad principle that must underlie all trade — the simple principle of knowledge of the goods themselves, knowledge of the people who sell them and the gradual advance of civilisation and its associate, the railway system. In the second place, the individual action of special causes such as war, exhibitions, emigration, and capital has been traced through those countries' returns, which more clearly represent the bulk of our increased trade. And in the third place, the totals of our exports have been viewed as totals; to see how far they correspond with the principles laid down. The answers in each case appear to be the same; and the results seem to be connected as cause and effect.

« With reference to future exhibitions, it may be said, that the more clearly the results are appreciated, the greater will be the care used to bring them into action, and to make them worthy of the purposes for which they were originally designated. That they have produced a large extension of our trade in the past seems beyond doubt, and that they possess an equal capacity for its development in the future, seems equally clear; one question being, in what shape and under what circumstances they shall be called into action. With proper limitations there seems every reason to believe that we may anticipate from this cause a powerful influence in the development of our future trade. It will be obvious that the success of any exhibition is more or less dependent on the mode in which it is carried through; if either from want of care, want of interest, or want of judgment, it be allowed to sink to the level of a private speculation, the power it will exercise over the other countries would be proportionately reduced; if, on the other hand, the might of our national position be brought to bear, the success that would follow may be assumed as accomplished ».

Since then there can be no doubt that temporary expositions have contributed much to the general development of international trade, neither can there be any doubt that a permanent exposition, conducted under the joint auspices of the leading nations of the world and located in a centre easily accessible, would contribute even more than have the temporary expositions. The value of the temporary expositions from this view point, has been demonstrated over and over again, the testimony of statesmen, exhibitors and students of trade promoting proving this point conclusively.

If the World Centre is established and includes the feature of permanent commercial exhibits, there can be no doubt but that the foreign trade of the nations will be increased. This increase, even though it be but a small per cent of the now existing trade, might easily justify the total expenditure

required for the erection and permanent maintenance of the city. A glance at the statistics of foreign trade appended hereto indicates something of the enormity of this trade among the leading nations of the world. It will be seen that the value of the annual exports from the United States alone amounts to nearly £ 2,000,000,000. It has been shown that trade has increased as much as 33 per cent within two years after an exhibition, not all of which could be credited directly to the exhibition, of course. Assuming that the World Centre would result in increasing this trade only five per cent, the annual increase would amount to £ 100,000,000. Allowing for an average net profit of five per cent, surely a conservative figure, this increase would net £ 5,000,000, a sum sufficient to warrant the expenditure of £ 125,000,000 if capitalised at four per cent, a rate higher than the Government of the United States is obliged to pay for most of its borrowed funds; or of £ 100,000,000 if capitalised at five per cent; or of £ 85,333,333 if capitalised at six per cent, which merely represents the commercial rates of interest for money in that country.

It is asked: but who is to pay the large sum of money which the World Centre will cost? In reply be it said that a venture of such incalculable value as the construction of an international city literally pays for itself. Considering for a moment the export trade of only the ten largest countries of the world, we find that the value of the annual export trade of these nations, in times of peace, approximates £ 13,000,000,000,000. Allowing for the same rate of increase in total trade, and for the same average rate of net profit, then capitalising this profit at five per cent, we find that the capitalised value of our net annual gain amounts to £ 650,000,000 a sum sufficient to pay, in one year, the entire cost of the proposed enterprise. The sooner the nations of the world can be persuaded to build the World Centre, the sooner their citizens will begin to profit by its construction, £ 650,000,000 per annum.

But the maintenance of the World Centre does not contemplate the expenditure by the United States of £ 125,000,000 nor even of £ 83,000,000. This, as we have shown, is only one of the many advantages to be gained, perhaps not even the most important commercially.

While it is true that these figures are based on an estimated hypothesis, the estimates seem reasonable and the figures indicate the necessity for weighing carefully the economic advantages of the proposed World Centre, the probable pecuniary gain to the world at large, irrespective of any moral, social or political gains, which we have not here attempted to set forth, but which are just as sure to result and which should weigh as heavily in any consideration of the project.

The ideal is universal cooperation. Nations are far from self-sufficing. We must look beyond the boundaries of the national state unless we wish to be cut off from the full advantages of civilisation. Modern invention and science have made the world a unit, and no nation can neglect international cooperation without wasting its energies and its resources.

During the past century the idea of a common humanity has received strong and manifold expression and been given a tangible embodiment in numerous joint conventions entered into by many nations. Several hundred international associations, representing nearly all branches of science, art, religion, and industry have been formed. Nationalism *per se* has given way to a higher organisation — internationalism.

That this internationalism may be given full opportunity to grow, that a suitable home, on neutralised territory, may be established for the housing of the headquarters of the many international organisations, that nations may be drawn into closer cooperation, the World Centre has been conceived and its construction recommended.

CHAPTER IX.

SUMMARIES AND CONCLUSIONS.

The World Centre as planned embodies two distinct ideas, carefully calculated to serve their purpose; an International Centre and a City. The International Centre is in the heart of the City and is made up of three distinct though closely connected groups — the Physical Culture Group, the Art Group and the Science Group.

The Physical Culture Group is composed of a vast Stadium, a Natatorium and Gymnasium for both men and women. The Physical Culture area contains ample space for open air sports and international exhibitions and contests, such as the Olympic Games.

The Art Group is composed of an imposing Temple and vast areas dedicated to art schools and gardens. The Temple has a vast auditorium in the centre, where music and drama may be heard and seen by great audiences, as well as spacious halls and galleries for the exhibition of sculpture and painting.

The Scientific Group is connected with the centre of Art and Physical Culture by the broad *Avenue of the Nations*, flanked on either side by national palaces which will house the exhibits and present the principal products, industries and manufactures of the various nations. The Science Group has for its crowning motif a gigantic Tower of Progress. This Tower, planned on lines of practical utility, is capable of providing

offices for those international societies recognised as beneficial to humanity and to the progress of the world, as well as for the World Press and a great station of wireless telegraphy.

The Tower rises in the midst of a circular space set aside for Industrial and Scientific Congress buildings. This group includes buildings which will be dedicated respectively to *Medicine, Surgery and Hygiene, Law and Criminology, Electricity and Inventions, Agriculture and Transportation*. To the right and left, an International Court of Justice and a Temple of Religions are planned on generous lines. An International Bank or Clearing House, a World Reference Library and an International Institute of Higher Learning complete the group. These buildings form what is known as Congress Square, and the Tower of Progress, rising in their midst, is the heart of both the International Centre and the City.

The City proper is divided into residential, business and industrial quarters. The residence quarter is in turn divided into six sections, each with its own central square for administrative buildings, schools, libraries, conference halls, markets, theatres and churches. Each quarter is supplied with heat from a central station in the outskirts, thus avoiding the nuisance of smoke and gas, and greatly facilitating the maintenance of sanitary conditions.

Neither the beauty of the City nor the Centre is marred by transportation conveyances on the broad streets and avenues, for all heavy traffic, except that by water, is under ground.

Beauty of architectural form, daylight, electric light, air, comfort and utility as well as hygiene and sanitation are everywhere considered and the problems arising from their use solved. Everything that science has done and everything that experience has taught as being of service, has been incorporated into the drawings and plans of the International City and Centre. It is a model centre in a model city, designed to serve as a centre for all business, intellectual and social activities. Works of art will be shown, inventions exhibited and the great men of the world of thought, ideas and actions may find here a meeting place and a home. It will be the clearing house of the world for all that is best in civilisation.

A perpetual World's Fair, maintained in the various national buildings bordering either side of the Avenue of Nations, will exhibit the latest developments in business, in science and in the products of industry.

International societies, congresses, associations and organisations, which exist to promote progress in science, philosophy, law, art and religion, can come to this centre for their meetings. Should they prefer or need to meet elsewhere, a permanent administration can facilitate the organisation of such gatherings in any country desired and collect the reports of their proceedings for the purpose of coordinating results and of making these available upon demand from any part of the world.

International organisations will maintain a close and intimate connection with the life and activities of the Centre. Through it they will be enabled to develop a fuller, more complete sense of international cooperation and mutuality, a more efficient service and a better administration. Their expansion will be facilitated, their usefulness enhanced.

The World Centre will serve both individuals and nations in all parts of the world, affording undeniable and unlimited advantages. It is not the scheme of a pacifist, advocated in the belief that it will make war impossible. It is a practical plan that will eliminate many difficulties of cooperation, thus resulting in the establishment of more harmonious and peaceful economic relations facilitated by science and culture, upon which more and more the life of nations and individuals depends.

The World Centre is not a fantasy, conceived in the fertile imagination of an impractical dreamer, but a logical next step forward in a world movement towards greater and greater centralisation. The recent rapid growth in the number of international organisations bears sufficient evidence that such a movement is well under way. That it may not be aborted but carried on to its most complete development, is the primary purpose of the proposed city.

Men and nations will continue to unite, as they have in the past, for the protection of themselves, their ideals and the products of their natural resources, industries and labour. For their mutual benefit, as a spot where their spiritual and intellectual inspirations as well as their scientific and physical achievements may focus, this city should be established.

The need for a World City has resulted from the growth of international interests, brought about, in the main, by the increasing interdependence of the nations. The development of means of rapid communication — the railroad, steamboat, telegraph, telephone, wireless — has obliterated national boundary lines, knitted the world into a single humanity and produced a spirit of world wide cooperation. *The existence of more than thirty public and more than three hundred unofficial international congresses, conferences, associations, etc., bears sufficient evidence of the existence of this spirit.*

These numerous organisations, with their headquarters scattered throughout the

world cannot now cooperate with one another to any great extent. Hence the complete development of the cooperative spirit is prevented and much of the benefit to be derived from these organisations is undoubtedly thereby lost. The erection of the World Centre would eliminate these duplications and result in greater and more effective work. Concerted action will eliminate overlapping and inefficient service and will produce economies of large proportions. The maintenance of such a permanent headquarters for these numerous international organisations will finally result in the collection, at a single place, of information concerning the work, resources and achievements of all nations; statistics of the international conditions of trade and commerce; production, in all its branches; finance and demography. In short, the World Centre will become a world clearing house for information concerning the conditions of business, the advance of science, religion and art, throughout the world. The value of such information will be inestimable, the opportunity to gather and distribute it unsurpassed by any other means now known.

To the nations of the world, this Centre will afford an opportunity for studying comparative politics, state administration and all essential experiments of government, through a central agency. By recording here the experiments of all nations, rapid and permanent progress in governmental affairs can be made. Unique experiences, advances made in any one country, should be made known to other nations in order that these may introduce the adaptable features, thereby reducing the number of costly and useless experiments which must of necessity take place when no central agency exists, where the experiences of all the nations can be brought together, compared, and tested.

Past experience has demonstrated clearly that such an agency will result in more efficient government. For example, the United States has profited materially in the improvement of industrial education from international expositions of the past where

governmental activities have been displayed by the nations exhibiting. Manual training was introduced into the schools as a direct result of the Centennial Exhibition of 1876. Shop work as a part of the curriculum of technical schools resulted from the same exposition. The entire reorganisation of primary education in France resulted from the Paris Exposition of 1878.

The beginning of the reform of the patent and postal laws of all nations can be traced directly to the Exposition of 1851. This exposition also contributed to the improvement in laws of copyright; quarantine laws; in the passport system; in international commercial laws; in the sanitary codes and economics; and to the endeavour to establish a little uniformity in the coins, weights, measures and scientific numeration systems of the principal European countries.

The World Centre, like these expositions of the past, will bring the nations into closer communication and into intimate acquaintance with each other.

Particularly in the full development of the gathering and dissemination of information concerning agricultural and farm market conditions, can the World Centre be of immediate and general advantage to nations and individuals.

Demonstration by exhibit of what has been done in the improvement of agricultural crops, live stock, etc., would mean new and larger markets for seeds and grains, stock for breeding and vegetable products. Also it would mean to those who received the exhibit, an incentive to improve their products.

Information concerning scientific agriculture would be collected and distributed, resulting beyond a doubt, in more excellent methods. The total result would be an enormous increase in the world's productive capacity. Through the work of this central agency, new plant types would be developed and introduced where soil and climate conditions are known to be most favourable.

The ravages of plant and animal diseases and pests could be studied and checked, through the development of proper remedies. The movement of infected stock from one country to another could be regulated more effectively. Here the development of most thorough cooperation is needed. This need is evidenced by the numerous attempts of threatened nations to seek the experiences and remedies of other countries. Only when there is organised a central agency for the collection of such information, will the control of disease and pests be commensurate with the evils to be controlled.

Like the International Exhibitions, the World Centre will surely prove its indispensability in the field of business and in the direct increase of trade and commercial activity. Practical education would be enhanced by the exhibits which have taken their place among education's best recognised tools. Workmen visiting the exhibits could find their skill advanced, their tastes improved. Travelling exhibits could be arranged and forwarded to the remotest parts of the world, wherever needed, at comparatively small expense. Business corporations, educational institutions and governments have found such exhibits worth while when conducted even on a small scale. Much more could be accomplished when exhibitions are arranged to include all humanity and all industries the world over.

The most outstanding benefit of World's Fairs, one sure to accrue to the World Centre, has been the profitable borrowing by one nation of the productive methods of other nations. The improvement resulting in the design, form, colour and proportion of English manufactures as a direct result of the exhibits of the more delicate French goods at the Exposition of 1851, is a striking example. These improvements were immediately and easily recognised.

The successful establishment of the Bessemer steel industry in the United States is a direct result of the Paris Exposition of 1867.

All improvements of industry, brought before the World Centre by exhibit or report could be made known, worth while improvements adopted, productive processes standardised and prices taken from the domain of caprice and rendered more stable.

Universal competition among artists and industrial producers would become general. Genius would be stimulated, inventions multiplied, new ideas and contrivances brought to light.

World's Fairs have attracted capital and labour to develop the natural resources of new countries. In a permanent exhibition this result could be more fully attained. Large business opportunities could be analysed and made known. All surplus of capital and labour could be directed to needy fields, thus enabling each nation to receive that which it most required for a rounded economic development. This central bureau of industrial information could, in part, check the employment of capital and labour in unproductive or uneconomical enterprises.

The introduction of goods into new markets has been one of the most magical results of World's Fairs and bids fair to be one of the chief economic benefits of the World Centre. Wherever and whenever a new thing of value appeared, once it passed the stern testing of the central exposition, its merits would have a world-wide advertisement.

Exhibits have always been employed for the introduction of patented devices of merit. The World Centre, because it would be permanent and centrally located, would afford a perpetual opportunity to inventors and promoters, for introducing new machines and devices to the investing and consuming public.

Through the maintenance of central information bureaus, there will be afforded a clearing house for all intelligence concerning the utilisation and protection of labour.

International labour organisations will maintain headquarters here. Advantages will be offered for studying, developing, and promoting various kinds of investigation and activity designed to improve and better the conditions under which the workmen labour.

The possibility of preventing over-production and the consequent checking of depressions, through the interchange of information gathered from all nations by an international organisation studying trade conditions and activity, is likely to be one of the most important commercial advantages attained by the plan suggested. A fuller knowledge of trade conditions properly disseminated, would lead to caution and curtailment when these were necessary. Business barometers are now too complex, too interwoven, to be grasped by a single individual. The interplay of economic forces is too great to enable one person to weigh properly the true significance of any one

force. An international organisation is necessary.

Much evidence has been compiled to show that exhibitions have fostered international trade. The permanent commercial exhibits to be featured by the World Centre will increase the foreign trade of the nations participating. Even though this increase be but a small part of the existing trade, it might easily justify the total expenditure necessary for the erection and permanent maintenance of the city.

The World City has many important economic services to perform. Its erection will result in moral, social, political and pecuniary gain to the world. It is economically feasible. It is desirable when measured even from a commercial and pecuniary standpoint. Surely it is even more to be desired when viewed from the larger standpoints of social justice, morals and the welfare of all mankind.

PART II

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I.

Reprinted from "The Rise of Internationalism,, by John Culbert Faries, A. M.

The purpose of the Appendix is to exhibit to English readers the international life of the world as shown (1) in the official international conferences and (2) in private international congresses and associations.

The list of official conferences includes only those which deal with matters of a general and non-political character. The first column gives the date of the first conference on the subject, the second column the matter considered, the third column the number of states participating in the conference or adhering to the convention, the fourth column the number of conferences held, the fifth column the form of permanent organisation and the sixth its headquarters.

The English names in the unofficial congresses in the second list may not in every case be the exact equivalents of the French or German titles, but comparison has been made with lists of the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library and the Columbia University Library. The first column gives the first congress as far as ascertainable, the third column gives the number of meetings held up to 1914, the fourth column the form of permanent organisation and the fifth its headquarters.

The lists have been compiled largely from data furnished by L'Annuaire de la Vie Internationale, 1908-1909, 1910-1911, and bound volumes of La Vie Internationale, which are invaluable compendiums on the subject. It is hoped that English readers will hereby be enabled to judge of the development and scope of Internationalism.

ABBREVIATIONS USED.

Al. - Alliance	Cn. - Commission	Per. - Permanent
As. - Association	Cv. - Convention	Sec. - Secretariate
Bu. - Bureau	Fed. - Federation	Soc. - Society
Ce. - Committee	I. - International	U. - Universal
Cf. - Conference	Inst. - Institute	Un. - Union
Cg. - Congress	Lg. - League	Unif. - Uniform
Cl. - Council	Of. - Office	Vs. - Against
	Or. - Order	

OFFICIAL CONFERENCES

ORG'D	SUBJECT	NO STATES	NO M'TINGS	PER: ORG'N	HEADQUARTERS
1815. . . .	African Slave Trade	16	5	Bu.	Brussels
1826. . . .	I. Cf. of Panama	4			
1851. . . .	I. Sanitary Cf.	36	12	Un.	Paris
1863. . . .	U. Postal Un.	50	11	Bu.	Berne
1863. . . .	Sugar Union.	11	10	Bu.	Brussels
1864. . . .	Geneva (Red Cross) Cf. .	10		Ce.	Geneva
1864. . . .	I. Geodetic As.	21	16	Bu.	Berlin
1865. . . .	Cape Spartel Lighthouse. .	11	1		
1865. . . .	Latin Monetary Un. . . .	5	8		
1865. . . .	U. Telegraphic Un. . . .	30	10	Bu.	Berne
1867. . . .	I. Monetary Cf.	19	4		

OFFICIAL CONFERENCES — *Continued.*

ORG'D	SUBJECT	NO STATES	NO M'TINGS	PER. ORG'N	HEADQUARTERS
1872. . . .	Scan. Monetary Un. . . .	3			
1875. . . .	I. Cf. on Wts & Measures.	28	5	Bu.	Paris
1878. . . .	I. Phylloxera Cf.	12	2		
1878. . . .	Railway Freight	12	7	Of.	Berne
1880. . . .	I. Patents.	20	8	Bu.	Berne
1881. . . .	Suez Sanitary Cl.	15		Cl.	Alexandria
1882. . . .	Policing North Sea	6			
1882. . . .	Protec. Submarine Cables .	31	4		
1882. . . .	Railway Technique	15	3		
1884. . . .	I. Copyright.	33	5	Bu.	Berne
1885. . . .	I. Exch. of Works of Art. .	9	1		
1886. . . .	I. Exch. of Pub. Doc's . .	31	1		
1886. . . .	Sale Alco. to Fishermen. .	6	1		
1888. . . .	S. A. Cg. Private I. Law .	5	1		
1888. . . .	Pub. Customs' Tariffs . .	29	2	Bu.	Brussels
1888. . . .	I. Cf. on Penal Law. . . ,	5	1		
1889. . . .	I. Maritime Cf.	19	1		
1889. . . .	Pan-American Cf.	18	4	Bu.	Washington
1890. . . .	Legal Protec. of Labor . .	13	3		
1893. . . .	Private I. Law	16	4		
1898. . . .	Meas. of Cargoes	4	1		
1899. . . .	First Peace Cf.	27	1		
1899. . . .	Hague Tribunal.	41		Bu.	Hague
1899. . . .	Marine Exploration.	8	11	Bu.	Copenhagen
1899. . . .	Reg. Alcohol in Africa . .	11	2		
1899. . . .	Classif. Causes of Death .	33	2	Bu.	Paris
1900. . . .	Preser. African Wild Animals.	6	1		
1902. . . .	Unif. Form. Power. Drugs .	16	1		
1902. . . .	Pan-Amer. Sanitary Un. .	15	5	Bu.	Washington
1902. . . .	Protec. of Useful Birds. .	11	1		
1902. . . .	Suppres. White Slavery. .	15	3		
1903. . . .	I. As. of Seismology, . .	21	1	Bu.	Strasburg
1905. . . .	I. Cf. on Maritime Law. .	24	4		
1905. . . .	I. Inst. of Agriculture. . .	40	1	Ce.	Rome
1906. . . .	Radiotelegraphic Un. . . .	27	2	Un.	Berne
1906. . . .	Cen. Amer. Cf.	4	5	Bu.	Guatemala
1907. . . .	Cen. Amer. Ct. of Justice .	5	1		San Jose
1907. . . .	Pan-American Ry.		1		
1907. . . .	Second Peace Cf.	45	1		
1908. . . .	I. Naval Cf.	10	1		
1908. . . .	Cen. Amer. Pedagog. Inst. .	5	2		San Jose
1908. . . .	I. Saccharine Cf.	10	2		
1908. . . .	Reg. Arms in Africa . . .	13	1		

OFFICIAL CONFERENCES — *Continued.*

ORG'D	SUBJECT	NO STATES	NO M'TINGS	PER. ORG'N	HEADQUARTERS
1909. . . .	World's Map.	22	1	Ce.	London
1909. . . .	Cen. Amer. Monetary Un. .	5	2		
1909. . . .	Running of Automobiles. .	19	1		
1909. . . .	I. Opium Cn.	12	1		
1910. . . .	Commercial Statistics. . .	20	1	Bu.	
1910. . . .	Aerial Navigation	17	1		
1911. . . .	S. Amer. Postal Un. . . .	10	1	Bu.	Montevideo
1911. . . .	Fur Seals.	4	1		
1912. . . .	I. Opium Cf.	42	2		
1912. . . .	I. Cf. of the Hour	16	1		

UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC.

ORG'D	I. ECONOMIC INTEREST	NO M'TINGS	PER. ORG'N	HEADQUARTERS
1848. . . .	I. Cg. of Agriculture	13	Cn.	Paris
1860. . . .	I. Brewers' Cg.	5		
1862. . . .	I. Cg. of Pomology	4		
1869. . . .	I. As. of Hotel Men.	42	Cl.	Cologne
1872. . . .	I. Cg. of Silk Culture	4		
1873. . . .	I. Cg. of Agric. & Forestry	2		
1873. . . .	I. Cg. on Indus. Prop.	3		
1874. . . .	I. Cg. for Unif. Meas. of. Textiles	3		
1877. . . .	I. Cg. of S. Amer. Lawyers	1		
1878. . . .	I. Engineering Cg.	5		
1878. . . .	I. Cg. for Devel. of Transportation. . . .	1		
1878. . . .	I. Cg. of Commerce & Industry	7	Cn.	
1880. . . .	I Cf. on Agric. Meteorology	1		
1881. . . .	I. Cg. of Direc's Agric. Sta's.	3		
1881. . . .	I. Cg. of Contractors of Pub. Works . .	1		
1883. . . .	I. Soc. of Electricians		Ce.	Paris
1883. . . .	I. Cg. of Horticulture	6		
1885. . . .	I. Tramway Cg.	18	Ce.	Brussels
1885. . . .	I. Railway Cg.	8	Cn.	Brussels
1886. . . .	I. Cg. of Glassworkers.	13	Sec.	Berlin
1889. . . .	I. Cg. of Printers.	6	Sec.	Stuttgart
1889. . . .	I. Cg. of Pigeon Fanciers	2		
1889. . . .	I. Un. of Hatters	8	Sec.	Altenburg
1889. . . .	I. Cg. of Marine Works	2		
1889. . . .	I. Cg. for Utiliz. of Rivers	1		
1889. . . .	I. Cg. of. Mines & Metallurgy	6		
1889. . . .	I. Grain & Flour Cg.	1		

UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC. — *Continued.*

ORG'D	I. ECONOMIC INTEREST	NO M'TINGS	PER. ORG'N	HEADQUARTERS
1889. . . .	I. Cg. of Bakers	5		
1889. . . .	I. Cg. of Proces. of Construction . . .	1		
1890. . . .	I. Cg. of Agric. Botany.	1		
1890. . . .	I. Un. of Tobacco-Workers	8	Sec.	Bremen
1890. . . .	I. Fed. of Miners.	23	Sec.	Manchester
1891. . . .	I. Un. of Wood-workers	7	Sec.	Berlin
1892. . . .	I. Un. of Elec. Stations.	8	Bu.	Dresden
1892. . . .	I. Fed. of Glovers	6	Sec.	Berlin
1893. . . .	I. Un. of Shoemakers	4	Sec.	Nuremberg
1893. . . .	I. Un. of Forestry Stations	6		
1893. . . .	I. Cg. of Agriculture.	1		
1893. . . .	I. Irrigation Cg.	3		
1893. . . .	I. Fed. of Metal-workers	7	Sec.	Stuttgart
1893. . . .	I. Cg. of Ry. Employees	10		
1893. . . .	I. Patent Cg.	1		
1893. . . .	I. Cg. of Naval Architecture	3		
1893. . . .	I. Cg. of Authors.	1		
1893. . . .	I. Insurance Cg.	1		
1893. . . .	U. Cg. of Bankers	1		
1893. . . .	I. Cg. of Journalists.	1		
1894. . . .	I. Fed. of Potters.	2	Sec.	Berlin
1894. . . .	I. Fed. of Textile-workers.	8	Sec.	Manchester
1894. . . .	I. Fed. of Furriers	3	Sec.	Hamburg
1894. . . .	I. Fed. of Brewery-workers	3	Sec.	Berlin
1894. . . .	I. Un. of Press As's.	12	Ce.	Paris
1894. . . .	I. Cg. of Paper Mfgs	2		
1894. . . .	I. Textile Cg.	1		
1895. . . .	I. Fed. of Cooks	1	Bu.	Frankfort
1895. . . .	I. Cg. of Actuaries	7	Ce.	Brussels
1896. . . .	I. Cg. of Leather-workers.	2		
1896. . . .	I. Fed. of Tailors.	3	Sec.	Berlin
1896. . . .	I. Fed. of Lithographers	8	Sec.	Berlin
1896. . . .	I. Fed. of Ship & Dock-workers	3		
1896. . . .	I. Cg. of Publishers	8	Cn.	Berne
1896. . . .	I. Cg. of Maritime Fishing.	5		
1896. . . .	I. Cg. of Dockers	3		
1897. . . .	I. Fed. of Transpor. Workers.	8	Ce.	Hamburg
1897. . . .	I. As. of Indus. Prop	15	Ce.	Berlin
1897. . . .	I. Fed. of Commercial Travelers	6	Ce.	
1897. . . .	I. Cg. of Agriculture.	5	Cn.	Huy
1897. . . .	I. As. Leather-trade Chemists	11	Ce.	Leeds
1898. . . .	I. Cg. of Moulders	2		
1898. . . .	I. Cg. of Screw-threading.	1		

UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC. — *Continued.*

ORG'D	I. ECONOMIC INTEREST	NO. M'TINGS	PER. ORG'N	HEADQUARTERS
1898. . . .	I. Cg. vs. Destruc. of Birds	1		
1898. . . .	I. Fishery Cg.	7		
1898. . . .	I. Acetylene Cg.	7		
1900. . . .	I. Cg. of Fruits of the Press.	1		
1900. . . .	I. Cg. of Grape Culture	3		
1900. . . .	I. Cg. of Sylviculture	1		
1900. . . .	I. Cg. vs. Cochylis	1		
1900. . . .	I. Real Estate Cg.	2		
1900. . . .	I. Cg. of Millers	2		
1900. . . .	I. Cg. of Gas Industry.	1		
1900. . . .	I. Grocery Cg.	1		
1900. . . .	I. Un. of As's of Inventors	4	Ce.	Paris
1900. . . .	I. Agric. & Fishery Cg.	2		
1900. . . .	I. Cg. on Rational Food for Cattle. . . .	2		
1900. . . .	I. Cg. of Christian Textile-workers . . .	6		
1900. . . .	I. Cg. of the Merchant Marine	1		
1900. . . .	I. Fed. of Employees	5	Bu.	Ghent
1900. . . .	I. Fed. of Employees in Commerce . . .	4	Sec.	Hamburg
1900. . . .	I. Textile Cg.	1		
1900. . . .	I. Cg. of Wines, Spirits, etc.	5	Ce.	Paris
1900. . . .	I. Ramie Cg.	1		
1900. . . .	I. Cg. of Agric. Syndicates	1		
1901. . . .	I. Marine As.	3	Ce.	
1901. . . .	I. Good Roads Cg.	1		
1901. . . .	I. Cg. for Protec. vs. Hail.	1		
1901. . . .	I. Cg. of Hybridization of Vine	1		
1901. . . .	I. Cg. of Rice Culture	3		
1902. . . .	I. Cg. on Plant Breeding & Hybrid . . .	2		
1902. . . .	.. Navigation Cg.	12	Bu.	Brussels
1902. . . .	I. Cg. of Denatured Alcohol	2		
1903. . . .	I. Fed. of Masons	3	Sec.	Hamburg
1903. . . .	I. Dairy Cg.	6	Fed.	Brussels
1903. . . .	I. Confed. of Musicians.	6	Ce.	Paris
1903. . . .	I. Cg. of Stonecutters	4	Sec.	Zurich
1903. . . .	I. Cg. of Quarrymen	1		
1903. . . .	I. Fed. of Dyers & Scourers		Sec.	Paris
1904. . . .	I. Cg. of Alpine Gardens	2		
1904. . . .	I. Cg. on Running of Autos	1		
1904. . . .	I. Cg. of Painters	3		
1904. . . .	I. Fed. of Pavers.	2	Sec.	Berlin
1904. . . .	I. Cotton Cg.	9	Ce.	Manchester
1904. . . .	I. Cf. on Hospital Construction	1		
1904. . . .	I. Cg. of Lawyers	1		

UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC. — *Continued.*

ORG'D	I. ECONOMIC INTEREST	NO. M'TINGS	PER. ORG'N	HEADQUARTERS
1904. . . .	I. Cg. of Public Accountants	1		
1905. . . .	Gen. As. of Munic. Engineers, etc. . . .	9	Ce.	Paris
1905. . . .	Baltic & White Sea Cf.	7	Ce.	Stockolm
1905. . . .	I. Cg. of Colonial Agronomy	3	As.	
1905. . . .	I. Cg. of Aviculture	5		
1905. . . .	I. Cg. of Agric. Mechanics.	1		
1905. . . .	I. Cg. of Chambers of Commerce	5	Ce.	Brussels
1905. . . .	I. Cg. of Chaffeurs	2		
1905. . . .	I. Fed. of Book-binders	4	Sec.	Berlin
1905. . . .	U. Al. of Diamond-cutters	3	Sec.	Antwerp
1905. . . .	I. Fed. of Porcelain-makers	2	Sec.	Charlot'b'g
1905. . . .	I. Petroleum Cg.	5	Cn.	Karlsruhe
1905. . . .	I. Cg. of Aerated Water	1		
1905. . . .	I. Sugar & Distilling Cg.	2		
1905. . . .	I. Cement Cg.	1		
1905. . . .	I. Cg. on Construc. & Pub. Wks.	2	Cn.	Brussels
1905. . . .	I. Cg. of Line-fishermen	2		
1905. . . .	I. Cg. of Public Works.	1		
1905. . . .	I. Cg. of Town Clerks	3		
1905. . . .	I. Cg. of Ceramic-workers	1		
1905. . . .	I. Ry. Time-table Cf.	4		
1906. . . .	I. Cf. on Unif. Anal. Stock Foods	1		
1906. . . .	I. Cg. on Seed-testing	2		
1906. . . .	I. Cg. of Postal Employees	1		
1906. . . .	I. Saddlery As.	3	Sec.	Berlin
1906. . . .	I. Fed. Post., Tel. & Teleph. Wkrs . . .	3	Sec.	Paris
1907. . . .	I. Cg. of Builders.	4		
1907. . . .	I. Press Museum		Cl.	Brussels
1907. . . .	I. Cg. of Silk Printers	1		
1907. . . .	I. Cg. of Net-makers	1		
1907. . . .	I. Fed. of Hairdressers.	2	Sec.	Berlin
1907. . . .	I. Cg. of Dry Farming	8		
1907. . . .	I. World Cg. of Butchers	1		
1907. . . .	I. Fed. of Carpenters	1	Sec.	Hamburg
1907. . . .	I. Fed. of Factory-workers		Sec.	Hanover
1907. . . .	I. Fed. of Wkrs. in Pub. Ser.	3	Sec.	Berlin
1907. . . .	I. Fed. of Bakers.	2	Sec.	Hamburg
1907. . . .	I. Cg. of Periodical Press	3	Bu.	Brussels
1907. . . .	I. Fed. of Per. Expos. Coms.	3	Cl.	Brussels
1907. . . .	I. Fishery Cg.	1		
1907. . . .	I. Cotton Planters Cg.	1		
1907. . . .	I. Cg. of Ship-owners	1		
1907. . . .	I. Cg. of Postal Clerks	1		

UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC. — *Continued.*

ORG'N	I. ECONOMIC INTEREST	NO. M'TINGS	PER. ORG'N	HEADQUARTERS
1907. . . .	I. Cg. of Cotton Exchanges	2		
1908. . . .	I. Road Cg.	3	Cn.	Paris
1908. . . .	I. Cg. of Oil-culture.	3		
1908. . . .	I. Cf. of Navigation Cos.	1		
1908. . . .	I. Cf. of Europe. Telep. & Tel. Adms. .	2	Ce.	
1908. . . .	I. Cg. on Refrigeration	3	Cl.	Paris
1908. . . .	I. Un. of Hotel Employees	2	Sec.	Berlin
1908. . . .	U. Fed. of Soc. of Hotel Men.	3	Ce.	Cologne
1908. . . .	I. Cg. of Ry. Engrs. & Firemen	1		
1909. . . .	I. Fed. of Moto-culture.	2	Ce.	Paris
1909. . . .	I. Agrogeological Cf.	2	Cn.	
1909. . . .	I. Fed. of As's of Linen Mfrs.	5	Ce.	Ghent
1909. . . .	I. Cost Cg. of Empl. Printers	4		
1910. . . .	I. Cg. of Fire-arms Testing	1		Liege
1910. . . .	I. Cg. of Drilling Engineers	1		
1910. . . .	I. Cg. of Breeding & Feeding	1		
1910. . . .	I. Chrysanthemum Cg.	1		Paris
1910. . . .	I. Rose Cg.	1		Paris
1910. . . .	I. Cg. of Tropical Agronomy	2	Bu.	Paris
1910. . . .	I. Cg. of Agric. As's.	1	Cn.	Brussels
1910. . . .	I. Fed. of Merchant Tailors	2	Bu.	Brussels
1910. . . .	I. Fishery Cf.	1	As.	Brussels
1910. . . .	I. Cg. of Notaries.	1		
1911. . . .	I. Drilling As.	1	Sec.	Vienna
1911. . . .	I. Cg. of Farm Women.	3		
1911. . . .	I. Cg. of Indus. & Agric. Protec. As's .	1		
1911. . . .	Pan-Amer. Commercial Cf.	1		
1911. . . .	I. Fed. of Bank Employees	2	Bu.	Brussels
1911. . . .	I. Rubber Cg.	3		
1911. . . .	I. Steel Cf.	1		
1911. . . .	I. Drug Cg.	2		
1911. . . .	I. Cg. of Chocolate Mfrs.	1		
1912. . . .	I. Cg. of Mfrs. of Paper Money.	1		
1912. . . .	I. As. of Linen Exporters	1		
1912. . . .	I. Cg. of Fish Merchants. etc.	1		
1912. . . .	I. Cg. of Cinematograph Co's	1		
1913. . . .	I. Fed. of Hardware Merchants	1		
1913. . . .	I. Cg. on Fruit-tree Growing.	1		
1913. . . .	I. Forestry Cg.	1		
1913. . . .	I. Cg. of Watchmakers.	1		
1913. . . .	I. Cg. of Consulting Engrs	1		
1913. . . .	I. Fed. of Carvers		Sec.	Berlin
1913. . . .	I. Cg. of Ins. Agents	3		

UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC. — *Continued.*

ORG'D	I. ECONOMIC INTEREST	NO. M'TINGS	PER. ORG'N	HEADQUARTERS
1913. . . .	I. Cynologic Fed.	3		
1913. . . .	I. Tax Cf.	4		
1913. . . .	I. As. for Preven. of Smoke	6		
II. RECREATIONAL INTEREST				
1867. . . .	I. Chess Cg.	2		
1878. . . .	I. Cg. of Alpine Clubs	2		
1889. . . .	I. Cg. of Physical Exercise	1		
1892. . . .	I. Skating Un.	10	Ce.	Stockholm
1892. . . .	I. Fed. of Rowing As's.	22		Turin
1894. . . .	I. Olympic Ce.	15	Ce.	Paris
1896. . . .	I. Velocipede Cg.	1		
1897. . . .	Bu. of Europ. Gymnas. Fed's.	6	Cl.	Antwerp
1897. . . .	I. League of Tourist As's.		Ce.	Bern
1893. . . .	I. Fencing Cg.	4		
1900. . . .	I. Cyclist Un.	24	Ce.	Paris
1900. . . .	I. Automobile Cg.	4		
1903. . . .	I. Turners	5		
1904. . . .	I. Cf. of Automobile Clubs	1		
1905. . . .	I. Cg. of Prestidigitation	1		
1906. . . .	I. Bull-fighting Cg.	1		
1907. . . .	I. Hunting Cg.	4	Cn.	
1908. . . .	I. Fed. of Foot-ball Ass's.	2		
1908. . . .	I. Autonautic Fed.	1		
1909. . . .	I. Cf. of Gun Clubs.	1		
1910. . . .	I. Gymnastic Cg.	1		
1910. . . .	I. Skii Cg.	4		
1910. . . .	I. Cf. of Aero Clubs	1		
1912. . . .	I. Cg. of Athletic Sports	1		
1912. . . .	I. Alpine & Skii Cg.	1		
1912. . . .	I. Cg. of Swimming As's	1		
1912. . . .	I. Motorcycle Fed.	2		
III. ARTISTIC INTEREST				
1861. . . .	I. Art. Cg.	6		
1867. . . .	I. Cg. of Architects	9	Ce.	Paris
1873. . . .	I. Cg. of History of Art.	10		
1878. . . .	I. Lit. & Artistic As.	31	Ce.	
1889. . . .	I. Cg. of Photography	5		
1889. . . .	I. Cg. of Protec. for Works of Art.	1		
1889. . . .	I. Cg. of the Soc. of Writers.	1		
1891. . . .	I. Photographic Un.	13	Cl.	Brussels
1891. . . .	I. Cg. of Numismatics	3		

UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC. — *Continued.*

ORG'D	III. ARTISTIC INTEREST	NO. M'TINGS	PER. ORG'N	HEADQUARTERS
1893. . . .	I. Cg. of Music	4		
1898. . . .	I. Cg. of Public. Art.	3		Brussels
1900. . . .	I. Cg. of Theatrical Art.	1		
1904. . . .	I. Cg. of Arts & Sciences.	1		
1904. . . .	I. Fed. of Teaching of Desgin	4	Ce.	Fribourg
1904. . . .	I. Soc. of Music	5	Cl.	London
1904. . . .	I. Cg. of Religious Music	1		
1904. . . .	I. Dance Cg.	2		
1904. . . .	I. Garden City Cg.	1		
1905. . . .	I. Cg. of Gregorian Chant.	1		
1905. . . .	I. Cg. of Theatre & Dramat. Art	1		
1907. . . .	I. Fed. of Amat. Theat. Soc's		Cl.	Cirey, s. V.
1907. . . .	I. Cg. for Man. of Mountains.	1		
1908. . . .	I. Un. of Dancing Masters.	3	Ce.	Altenburg
1909. . . .	I. Cg. of Applied Photog	1		
1909. . . .	I. Cg. for Protec. Landscape	3		
1910. . . .	I. Cg. of Art & History	1		
1910. . . .	I. Cg. of Cinematography	2		
1910. . . .	I. Towplanning Cg.	1		
1911. . . .	I. City Planning Cf.	1		
1911. . . .	I. Municipal Cg.	1		
1913. . . .	I. Cg. of Musical Pedagogy	1		
1913. . . .	I. Cg. of Cities	1	Sec.	Brussels
	Women's I. Art Club			London
	I. Art Circle			Paris
	I. Water Color Soc.			Paris
	Associazione Artistica Int.			Rome
	I. Modern Kunstkring			Amsterdam
IV. SCIENTIFIC INTEREST				
1847. . . .	I. Cg. of Economists	1		
1853. . . .	I. Cg. for Unif. Obser's at sea.	2		
1853. . . .	I. Cg. of Statistics	9		
1856. . . .	I. Cg. for Customs' Reform	1		
1857. . . .	I. Positivist Soc. (reorg. 1906)			Paris
1857. . . .	I. Cg. of Ophtalmology.	11	Bu.	
1862. . . .	I. As. for Prog. of Soc. Sci's.	4		
1862. . . .	I. Geodetic As.	16	Bu.	Berlin
1863. . . .	I. Veterinarian Cg.	10	Cn.	Budapest
1864. . . .	I. Cg. of General Averages	1		
1865. . . .	I. Cg. of Pharmacy	11		
1865. . . .	I. Cg. of Astronomy	23		Leipzig
1865. . . .	I. Cg. of Anth. & Prehist. Arch.	14	Cl.	Geneva

UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC. — *Continued.*

ORG'D	IV. SCIENTIFIC INTEREST	NO. M'TINGS	PER. ORG'N	HEADQUARTERS
1865. . . .	I. Paleo-ethnolog. Cg.	1	Cn,	Hague
1867. . . .	I. Medical Cg.	17	Cn,	Hague
1867. . . .	I. Cg. of Archaeology	5		
1871. . . .	I. Geographical Cg.	10		
1871. . . .	I. Meteorological Cf.	6	Ce.	
1873. . . .	I. Law As.	28	Cl.	London
1873. . . .	Inst. of I. Law	28	Ce.	Ghent
1873. . . .	I. Cg. of Orientalists	14		
1873. . . .	I. Meteorological Ce.	12		
1875. . . .	I. Cg. of Americanists	17		
1876. . . .	I. Cg. of Homeopathy	12	Cl.	
1876. . . .	U. Scientific Alliance		Ce.	Paris
1876. . . .	I. Cg. of. Otology	10		
1877. . . .	I. Cg. of Archivists & Librarians	5	Ce.	Brussels
1878. . . .	I. Cg. of Bibliography	3		
1878. . . .	I. Cg. of Mental Medicine	2		
1878. . . .	I. Cg. of Demography	1		
1878. . . .	I. Geological Cg.	12	Sec.	Stockholm
1878. . . .	I. Cg. of Commercial Geog.	2		
1878. . . .	I. Cg. of Ethnography	2		
1878. . . .	I. Cg. of Botany & Hrticul	3	Ce.	Brussels
1878. . . .	I. Cg. of Anthropology	4		
1878. . . .	I. Cg. of Geom. Experts	1		
1878. . . .	I. Cg. of Army Med. Service.	1		
1879. . . .	I. Polar Commission.	4		
1880. . . .	I. Cg. of Rhino-laryngology	3	Ce.	Berlin
1880. . . .	I. Cg. of Laryngology	2		
1880. . . .	I. Geographical Inst			Berne
1881. . . .	I. Cg. or Shorthand Writers	4		
1881. . . .	I. Electrical Cg.	7		
1882. . . .	I. Cf. on Electrical Units	4	Ce.	
1882. . . .	I. Cg. of Criminal Anthropol.	8		
1883. . . .	I. Cg. of Tropical Medicine	2		
1884. . . .	I. Cg. of Ornithology	5	Ce.	
1885. . . .	I. Cg. of Neurology	3		
1885. . . .	I. Cg. of Commercial Law	2		
1885. . . .	I. Inst. of Statistics	14	Bu.	Hague
1885. . . .	I. Cg. of Testing Materials.	10	As.	Vienna
1886. . . .	I. Cg. of Hydrology, etc.	8	Bu.	Paris
1886. . . .	I. Phonetic As.		Cl.	Bourg la R.
1887. . . .	Academia pro Interlingua		Cl.	Turin
1887. . . .	I. Shorthand Cg.	11		
1887. . . .	I. Ce. on Photo. Celestial Map.	5	Ce.	Paris

UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC. — *Continued.*

ORG'D	IV. SCIENTIFIC INTEREST	NO. M'TINGS	PER. ORG'D	HEADQUARTERS
1887. . . .	I. Astrophotographic Cg.	1		
1888. . . .	I. Catholic Sci. Cg.	5	Ce.	Rome
1889. . . .	I. Medico-legal Cg.	2		
1889. . . .	I. Aeronautical Cf.	7		
1889. . . .	I. Dental Fed.	8		
1889. . . .	I. Cg. of Dermatology	7		
1889. . . .	I. Cg. of Therapeutics	1		
1889. . . .	Interparliamentary Union	18	Cl.	Brussels
1889. . . .	I. Un. of Penal Law.	11	Bu.	Berlin
1889. . . .	I. Colonial Cg.	3		
1889. . . .	I. Emigration Cg.	1		
1889. . . .	I. Cg. of Physiology.	9	Ce.	
1889. . . .	I. Cg. of Psychology	7	Ce.	
1889. . . .	I. Cg. of Physiol. Psychology	1		
1889. . . .	I. Cg. of Hypnotism.	2		
1889. . . .	. Cg. of Zoology.	9	Cl.	Paris
1889. . . .	I. Folk-lore Cg.	4		
1889. . . .	I. Cg. of Accounting.	2		
1889. . . .	I. Cg. of Chronometry	2		
1889. . . .	I. As. of Academies	6	Ce.	Rome
1890. . . .	I. Book Cf.	1		
1891. . . .	I. Commission on Clouds.	2		Upsala
1892. . . .	I. Cg. of Gynecology	6	Ce.	Brussels
1892. . . .	I. Cg. for Customs' Legis., etc.	5		
1893. . . .	Pan-American Med. Cg.	5		
1893. . . .	I. Cg. of History	2		
1893. . . .	I. Inst. of Sociology.	8	Bu.	Paris
1893. . . .	I. Mathematical Cg.	5	Ce.	Geneva
1893. . . .	I. Cg. of Pub. & Admin. Law	1		
1893. . . .	I. Cg. of Eclectic Medicine	1		
1893. . . .	I. Cg. of Philology	1		
1894. . . .	I. Cg. of Thalassotherapy	5	Cn.	Paris
1894. . . .	I. Colonial Inst.	15	Bu.	Brussels
1894. . . .	I. Cg. of Applied Chemistry	8	Cn.	
1894. . . .	I. Cg. on Atmosphere	2		
1895. . . .	Concilium Bibliographicum.			Zurich
1895. . . .	I. Cg. of Bibliog. & Documen.	5	Bu.	Brussels
1896. . . .	I. Cn. on Radiation.	1		Zurich
1896. . . .	I. Telegraphic Cn.	5		London
1896. . . .	I. Cn. on Sci. Aerostation	6		Strasburg
1896. . . .	I. Cn. on Terres. Magnetism	5	Sec.	Potsdam
1896. . . .	I. Cf. on Fixed Stars	1		
1897. . . .	Catalogue of Sci. Literature	4	Cl.	London

UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC. — *Continued.*

ORG'D	IV. SCIENTIFIC INTEREST	NO. M'TINGS	PER. ORG'N	HEADQUARTERS
1897. . . .	I. Cg. of Climatotherapy	4		
1897. . . .	I. Maritime Ce.	3	Bu.	Antwerp
1897. . . .	I. Cg. on Leprosy	3		
1897. . . .	I. Cn. for Unif. Sugar Analysis	7		Vienna
1898. . . .	I. Cg. for Preservation of MSS	1	Cn.	
1898. . . .	I. Cg. of Hist. of Diplomacy	1		
1898. . . .	I. As. of Marey Institute		Bu.	Boulogne s. S.
1899. . . .	I. Cg. of Electrobiolgy, etc.	7	Cn.	
1899. . . .	As. of Anatomists.	12		Paris
1899. . . .	I. As. of Exam. Phys. of Ins. Co's . .	4		
1899. . . .	I. Council of Nurses	3	Cf.	London
1899. . . .	I. Cf. on Hybridization.	4	Ce.	Paris
1899. . . .	I. As. for Explor. Cent. Asia		Ce.	Petrograd
1899. . . .	I. Pure Food Cg.	1		
1900. . . .	I. Cn. on Photometry	3		
1900. . . .	I. Cg. of Christian Archaeology	1		
1900. . . .	I. Cg. on Study of Basques	1		
1900. . . .	I. Cg. on Sci's. of Writing	1		
1900. . . .	I. Cg. of Physics.	1		
1900. . . .	I. Cg. of Philosophy	2	Cn.	Heidelberg
1900. . . .	I. Cg. of Compar. Hist.	1		
1900. . . .	I. Neo. Malthusian Bu.	4	Bu.	Hague
1900. . . .	I. Cg. of Popular Credit.	1		
1900. . . .	I. Cg. of Colonial Sociology	1		
1900. . . .	I. Cg. of Transferable Securities. . . .	1		
1900. . . .	I. Cg. for Gold & Silver Stan	1		
1900. . . .	I. Cg. of the Medical Press	8	As.	Paris
1900. . . .	I. Cg. of Pharmacal Specialities	1		
1900. . . .	I. Cg. of Alcaloidotherapy	1		
1900. . . .	I. Cg. of Applied Mechanics	2		
1901. . . .	Latin-Amer. Medical Cg.	4		
1901. . . .	I. As. of Botanists	1	Ce.	Harlem
1902. . . .	I. Anti-tuberculosis As.	9	Ce.	Berlin
1903. . . .	I. Inst. on Probs. Mid. Classes	4	Ce.	Brussels
1903. . . .	I. Cg. of Historical Studies	3		
1903. . . .	I. Solar Cn.	3		London
1904. . . .	I. Un. for Solar Research	5	Ce.	Manchester
1904. . . .	I. Cg. of Experim. Psychol	1		
1904. . . .	I. As. of Mechanotherapeuts		Bu.	Antwerp
1904. . . .	I. Cg. of Army Surgeons	1		
1904. . . .	I. Cg. of Arts & Sciences.	1		
1905. . . .	I. Inst. of Social Bibliog.		Ce.	Berlin
1905. . . .	I. Cg. for Reprod. of MSS.	1		

UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC. — *Continued.*

ORG'D	IV. SCIENTIFIC INTEREST	NO. M'TINGS	PER. ORG'N	HEADQUARTERS
1905. . . .	I. Surgical Soc.	4	Ce.	Brussels
1905. . . .	I. Cg. on Ankylosis	1		
1905. . . .	I. Economic Cf.	1		
1905. . . .	I. Soc. of Physical Medicine		Ce.	Paris
1905. . . .	I. Fed. Cg. of Anatomists	2	Ce.	Paris
1905. . . .	I. Cg. of Physiotherapy	4	Cn.	Paris
1905. . . .	I. As. of Lawyers	1	Ce.	Brussels
1905. . . .	I. Cg. on World Econ. Expansion	1		
1905. . . .	U. Cg. of Esperanto	9	Ce.	Paris
1905. . . .	I. Fed. to Extend French Cul. & Lang	3	Bu.	Brussels
1905. . . .	I. Cg. of Radiology	2		
1905. . . .	I. Cg. Radiol. & Electricity	2	Cn.	Brussels
1905. . . .	I. Glacial Cg.	1		
1905. . . .	I. Aeronautic Fed.	9	Bu.	Paris
1906. . . .	I. Inst. on Mental Diseases, etc.	3	Ce.	Zurich
1906. . . .	I. As. for Study of Cancer	4	Cn.	Berlin
1906. . . .	I. Cg. of Dietetic Hygiene.	2		
1906. . . .	I. Economic Un.	7		
1906. . . .	Esperantist Med. As.			Aix-la-C.
1906. . . .	I. Electrotechnical Cn.	4	Cn.	London
1906. . . .	I. Sci. Esperantist As.		Bu.	Paris
1906. . . .	I. As. of Esperan. Jurists	6		Paris
1906. . . .	I. Cg. of Photo Documen.	1		
1906. . . .	I. Philatelist Cg.	1		Milan
1907. . . .	I. Polar Inst.			Uccle
1907. . . .	I. Cf. on Sleeping Sickness	2		
1907. . . .	I. Somatological As.	4	Bu.	Antwerp
1907. . . .	I. As. of Medical Museums		Ce.	Montreal
1907. . . .	I. Cg. of Soc. & Econ. Sci's.	1		
1907. . . .	I. Inst. of Esperanto			Geneva
1907. . . .	I. Soc. of Esperan. Free Thinkers			Sens
1907. . . .	I. Soc. of Roman Dialectology		Ce.	Brussels
1907. . . .	I. Cg. of Stenography	2		
1907. . . .	I. Cn. on (Meteor.) World System	2		Upsala
1908. . . .	I. Inst. of Tech. Bibliography			Berlin
1908. . . .	I. Soc. of Tropical Medicine	1	Ce.	Cambridge
1908. . . .	I. Panceltic Cg.	6	Ce.	Brussels
1908. . . .	I. Free Trade Cg.	2		
1908. . . .	I. Un. of Esperan. Vegetarians			Hamburg
1908. . . .	I. As. of Esperan. Teachers		Ce.	Lille
1908. . . .	U. Esperantist As.	2	Ce.	Geneva
1908. . . .	I. Sci. Entente for Aux. Lang		Ce.	Brussels
1908. . . .	I. Positivist Cg.	1		

UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC. — *Continued.*

ORG'D	IV. SCIENTIFIC INTEREST	NO. M'TINGS	PER. ORG'N	HEADQUARTERS
1908. . . .	I. Polar Cn.	3	Bu.	Brussels
1908. . . .	I. Cv. of Heraldry			Paris
1908. . . .	I. American Sci Cg.	3		
1908. . . .	I. Cg. of Applied Electricity	2		
1908. . . .	I. Cg. of Catalan Hist	1		
1909. . . .	I. Cg. on Epilepsy	4	Ce.	Amsterdam
1909. . . .	Brain Commission	2		Berlin
1909. . . .	I. Inst. for Diffus. of Soc. Exper		Ce.	Paris
1909. . . .	I. As. of Esperan. Bankers			Dresden
1909. . . .	Un. for an I. Language		Ce.	Soluthurn
1909. . . .	I. Cg. of Ophthalmology	1		
1910. . . .	I. Bu. for Educ. Documen	1		Ostende
1910. . . .	Intermediare Sociologique			Brussels
1910. . . .	I. Pediatric As.	1	Ce.	Paris
1910. . . .	I. Cg. of Urinology	2		
1910. . . .	I. Pharmaceutical Fed.		Cn.	Hague
1910. . . .	I. Juridical Ce. of Aviation	2		
1910. . . .	I. Juridical Cg. of Aviation	1		
1910. . . .	I. Cg. of Experimen. Psychology	2		Paris
1910. . . .	Central Meteoric Bu.		Ce.	Antwerp
1910. . . .	I. Inst. of Ethnography		Bu.	Paris
1910. . . .	I. Cg. of Entomologists.	2	Ce.	
1910. . . .	I. Cg. of Administrative Sci's.	2	Cn.	Brussels
1910. . . .	Slav Cg.	1		
1910. . . .	Un. of I. As's	1		Brussels
1911. . . .	Medizin-Literarischen Zentralstelle			Berlin
1911. . . .	I. Cg. of Museum Directors	1		
1911. . . .	Cg. I. des Sages Femmes.	1		
1911. . . .	I. Cg. of Pathology	1		
1911. . . .	I. Cg. on Aerial Law	2		
1911. . . .	I. Lg. for Rights of Peoples		Cl.	Paris
1911. . . .	Universal Races Cg.	1		
1911. . . .	I. As. of Compar. Polit. Econ	1	Sec.	Berlin
1911. . . .	U. Un. of Esperan. Litterateurs			Dresden
1911. . . .	I. Lg. of Esperan. Postal Empl's			Breslau
1911. . . .	I. As. for Creating an I. Lang		Ce.	Berne
1911. . . .	I. Monist. Cg.	1		
1911. . . .	I. Soc. for Psychical Research		Bu.	Paris
1911. . . .	I. Cg. of Pedology		Ce.	Brussels
1911. . . .	I. Inst. of Embryology			
1911. . . .	I. Inst. of Plasmology		Ce.	Brussels
1911. . . .	I. Entomological As.	2	Ce.	Frankfort
1911. . . .	I. As. of Accounting.	3	Cl.	Brussels

UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC. — *Continued.*

ORG'D	IV. SCIENTIFIC INTEREST	NO. M'TINGS	PER. ORG'N	HEADQUARTERS
1911. . . .	I. As. of Chemical Soc's	3	Cl.	Gross-Bothen
1911. . . .	I. As. of Jurid. & Econom. Philos. . . .	2		
1912. . . .	I. Cg. of Dermatology	1		
1912. . . .	I. Cg. of Compar. Pathology	1		
1913. . . .	I. Orthopedic Cg.	1		
1913. . . .	Of. Central des Nationalités	1	Sec.	Paris
	I. Cg. of Neurology & Psychiatry	3		
	Esperan. Theosophical Lg.			Paris
	I. Soc. of Friends of Esperan.			Paris
	I. Soc. of Esperan. Stenographers			
	I. Lg. of Esperan. Typographers.			Paris
	I. As. of Esperan. Pharmacists			Antwerp
	I. As. of Esperan. Ry. Empl's			
	I. Un. of Esperan. Philatelists		Sec.	Paris
	I. Soc. of the Apochrypha.		Cl.	London
V. EDUCATIONAL INTEREST				
1876. . . .	I. Cg. of Education	4		
1876. . . .	I. Cg. of Teachers of Blind	11		
1878. . . .	Free I. Cg. of Education	4		
1880. . . .	I. Pedagogical Cg.	2		
1886. . . .	I. Cg. on Technical Ed.	10	Ce.	Paris
1887. . . .	I. Cg. of School Gymnastics.	2		
1888. . . .	I. Cg. of School Colonies	2		
1889. . . .	I. Cg. of Primary Ed.	3	Ce.	
1889. . . .	I. Cg. of Secondary Ed.	5	Sec.	Brussels
1889. . . .	I. Cg. of Higher & sec. Ed.	3		
1889. . . .	I. Cg. of Private Pop. Instruc.	1		
1899. . . .	I. Cg. of Horticultural Ed.	1		
1900. . . .	I. Cg. of Agricul. Ed.	2	Cn.	
1900. . . .	I. Cg. of Social Ed.	1		
1900. . . .	I. Cg. of Teaching of Social Sci's. . . .	1		
1900. . . .	I. Cg. of Educational Press	1		
1900. . . .	Per. I. Ce. on Physical Ed.	5	Ce.	
1900. . . .	I. Cg. of Alumni of Commer. Scs. . . .	2		
1900. . . .	I. Cg. of Profs. of Living Langs	2	Bu.	Paris
1901. . . .	I. Soc. for Devel. Commer. Ed.	5	Ce.	Trieste
1903. . . .	I. Soc. for Exch. of Chil. & Y. P. . . .		Cl.	Paris
1903. . . .	I. Cg. on School Hygiene.	4	Ce.	
1904. . . .	I. As. for Comple. Med. Ed.		Ce.	Paris
1905. . . .	I. Cg. on Family Education	3	Cn.	Brussels
1905. . . .	I. Bu. of Teachers' Fed's	4	Ce.	
1906. . . .	I. Cg. of Popular Ed.	4	Bu.	Brussels

UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC. — *Continued.*

ORG'D	V. EDUCATIONAL INTEREST	NO. M'TINGS	PER. ORG'N	HEADQUARTERS
1908. . . .	I. Cg. of School Adminis.	3	Cf.	Fribourg
1908. . . .	I. Moral Ed. Cg.	2	Cn.	London
1908. . . .	I. Cn. on Math. Instruction	7	Ce.	Geneva
1908. . . .	I. As. on Study of Quaternions		Cl.	Urbana
1909. . . .	I. Ce. for Comple. Med. Ed.	3	Ce.	Berlin
1910. . . .	I. Cath. & Pedagogical Fed.	1		
1910. . . .	I. Cf. of Popular Universities		Sec.	Brussels
1910. . . .	I. Cg. of Higher Tech. Ed.	1	Sec.	Brussels
1910. . . .	I. As. of Med. Inspectors of Schools	1	Bu.	Paris
1911. . . .	I. Inst. of Physical Ed.	2	Bu.	Brussels
1911. . . .	I. Cg. for Christian Ed.	1		
VI. RELIGIOUS INTEREST				
1846. . . .	Evangelical Alliance	12	Ce.	London
1850. . . .	World's Missionary Cf.		Ce.	Edinburgh
1855. . . .	U. Al. of Chris. Young People	18	Ce.	Geneva
1860. . . .	Alliance Israelite U.		Ce.	Paris
1865. . . .	Salvation Army			London
1872. . . .	I. Un. of Old Catholics	9	Ce.	Bonn
1875. . . .	Pan Presbyterian Council			
1875. . . .	Theosophical Soc.	4	Cl.	Madras
1880. . . .	I. Cg. of Free Thinkers	10	Cl.	Brussels
1881. . . .	Eucharistic Cg.	21	Ce.	Paris
1886. . . .	World's Sunday School As.	7	Ce.	Chicago
1889. . . .	I. Cg. of Spiritism	5	Bu.	Liege
1892. . . .	Ecumenical Methodist Cf.			
1893. . . .	World's Parliament of Rel's	1		
1895. . . .	U. Fed. of Christian Student.	5	Ce.	New York
1895. . . .	World Wide Christian Endeavor	3	Trus.	Boston
1896. . . .	I. Un. of Ethical Soc's	3	Ce.	London
1897. . . .	I. Zionist Orgn	10	Ce.	Berlin
1897. . . .	I. Cg. of Religious Sci's	1		
1898. . . .	World's Young Wom. Chris. As's	6	Ce.	London
1899. . . .	Congregational World's Cl.	2		
1900. . . .	I. Rg. of Catholic Students	2		
1900. . . .	I. Cl. of Unitarians, etc.	6	Ce.	Boston
1900. . . .	I. Cg. of the Hist. of Rel.	4	Cn.	Leyden
1902. . . .	I. Cg. of Mary.	6		
1904. . . .	Fed. Europ. Soc' of Theos. Soc.	4	Cl.	
1905. . . .	Baptist World Alliance	2	Ce.	London
1908. . . .	I. Or. for Eth. & Moral Culture.		Bu.	Zurich
1908. . . .	Indep. Theosophical Lg.	2	Cl.	Benares

UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC. — *Continued.*

ORG'D	VI. RELIGIOUS INTEREST	NO. M'TINGS	PER. ORG'N	HEADQUARTERS
1910. . . .	Swedenborg Cg.	1	Ce.	London
1910. . . .	Esperantist Cath. Un.	4		Brussels
1911. . . .	I. Mission Study Cl.	3	Ce.	Amsterdam
1911. . . .	Christian Science	1		
	Gen. Ecumen. Cf. Luth. Ch.	14		
	I. Catholic Institute		Cl.	Rome
VII. SOCIAL INTEREST				
1839. . . .	Anti-Slav. & Abor. Protec. Soc.	5	Ce.	London
1843. . . .	U. Peace Cg.	28	Bu.	Berne
1846. . . .	I. Prison Cg.	10		
1852. . . .	Indep. Or. of Good Templars.			Glasgow
1856. . . .	I. Cg. of Charities	4		
1860. . . .	I. Cg. of Soc's for Protec. Animals.	14		
1863. . . .	I. Ce. of the Red Cross	9	Ce.	Geneva
1864. . . .	I. Workingmen's As.	9		
1867. . . .	I. Lg. of Peace and Liberty		Ce.	Berne
1875. . . .	Scottish Rite Masons.	3		
1875. . . .	I. Fed. for Abol. Reg. Prostitution	11	Cn.	Geneva
1876. . . .	I. Cg. of Hygiene & Demography	14	Cn.	
1876. . . .	I. Fed. of Cremation Soc's	5	Bu.	Brussels
1876. . . .	I. Cg. on Sunday Observance	14	Ce.	Geneva
1877. . . .	I. Un. of Friends of Young Girl	7	Bu.	Neuchatel
1877. . . .	I. Fed. of the Blue Cross.	7	Ce.	Geneva
1878. . . .	I. Cg. on Ed. of the Blind	7		
1878. . . .	I. Cg. on Ed. of Deaf-mutes.	5		
1878. . . .	I. Cg. of Provident Institutions	2		
1880. . . .	I. Anti-vaccination Cg.	7		
1883. . . .	World's Chris. Temp. Un.	8	Ce.	Evaston
1883. . . .	I. Cg. for Wel. & Protec. of Chil	8	Bu.	Brussels
1885. . . .	I. Cg. on Alcoholism	14		
1887. . . .	I. Or. King's Daughters & Sons.			
1888. . . .	I. Council of Women	6	Ce.	Berlin
1889. . . .	I. Jurid. Cg. of Coop. Soc's	3		
1889. . . .	I. Housing Cg.	10	Ce.	Brussels
1889. . . .	I. Soc. for Study of Ques. Charity		Bu.	Paris
1889. . . .	I. Cg. of Pub. & Private Charity	6	Ce.	Paris
1889. . . .	I. Lifesaving Cg.	6		
1889. . . .	I. Cg. on Indus. Acc's & Soc. Ins.	9	Ce.	Paris
1889. . . .	I. Cg. of Women's Work	2		
1889. . . .	I. Socialist Labor Cg.	9	Bu.	Brussels
1889. . . .	I. Cg. of Popular Clubs	1		
1889. . . .	I. Cg. of Labor Contract	1		

UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC. — *Continued.*

ORG'D	VII. SOCIAL INTEREST	NO. M'TINGS	PER. ORG'N	HEADQUARTERS
1889. . . .	I. Cg. on Price of Food	1		
1889. . . .	I. Cg. of Aid in Time of War	1		
1889. . . .	I. Cg. of Agric. & Soc. Reform	1		
1890. . . .	Un. I Des Patronages	5	Cn.	Brussels
1891. . . .	I. Cg. of Firemen.	13	Cl.	Amsterdam
1892. . . .	I. Co-operative Alliance.	9	Ce.	London
1893. . . .	I. Cg. vs. Immoral Lit.	1	Bu.	Geneva
1893. . . .	I. Temperance Cg.	1		
1894. . . .	I. Masonic Cg.	5	Bu.	
1895. . . .	Internationalis Concordia		Ce.	Paris
1895. . . .	I. Cg. of Aid to Injured Cyclists	1		
1895. . . .	I. Cg. of Hygiene on Ry's., etc.	1		
1895. . . .	Nobel Foundation.			Stockholm
1896. . . .	Women's U. Al. for Peace by Ed.			Paris
1897. . . .	Round About Club			London
1897. . . .	I. Cath. As. for Protec. of Girls.	6	Ce.	Fribourg
1897. . . .	I. Cg. for Prog. in Mine Manag.	1		
1897. . . .	I. As. for Labor Legislation	11	Bu.	Basle
1898. . . .	Corda Fratres	9	Ce.	Ithaca
1898. . . .	Kosmos			Amsterdam
1898. . . .	I. Cg. of Lifesaving at Sea	3		
1899. . . .	I. Soc. for San. & Moral Prophyl.	2	Ce.	Brussels
1900. . . .	I. Cg. of Cond. & Rights of Women.	1		
1900. . . .	I. Vegetarian Cg.	4	Un.	Brussels
1900. . . .	I. Profit-sharing Cg.	5	Fed.	
1900. . . .	I. Cg. Coop. Soc's of Consumption	2		
1900. . . .	I. Cg. of Aid to Working Girls	1		
1900. . . .	I. Cg. of Aid to Discharged Pris	1		
1900. . . .	I. Cg. Coop. Soc's of Production	1		
1900. . . .	I. Anti-tobacco Cg.	2		
1900. . . .	I. Cg. of Secur. vs. Ac's by Steam	2		
1901. . . .	I. As. for Rep. White Slavery	6	Bu.	London
1901. . . .	I. Cf. of Syndicalists	8	Sec.	Berlin
1902. . . .	I. Woman Suffrage Al.	7	Ce.	Rotterdam
1902. . . .	I. Cg. on Care of Insane	6		
1902. . . .	I. Museum of Peace & War			Lucerne
1902. . . .	I. Anti-vivisection Cg.	2	Cl.	Washington
1903. . . .	I. Fire Prevention Cg.	2		
1903. . . .	I. Institute of Peace.			Monaco
1903. . . .	Cg. I. des Oeuvres du Coin de terre.	3		Brussels
1904. . . .	I. Un. of Abstin. Ry. Empl's.	4	Sec.	Utrecht
1904. . . .	I. Cg. for Sanitary Dwellings	4	Cn.	Paris
1904. . . .	I. Med. As. for Suppres. of War			Paris

UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC. — *Continued.*

ORG'D	VII. SOCIAL INTEREST	NO. M'TINGS	PER. ORG'N	
1904. . . .	I. Cg. for Reg. of Jewish Emig. . . .	1		
1904. . . .	Carnegie Institute.			Washington
1905. . . .	International Conciliation			Paris
1905. . . .	I. Esperan. Peace Soc.			Neuilly s. S.
1905. . . .	Indep. Or. of Good Templars.	2		Berne
1905. . . .	I. Cf. on the Blind	4		
1905. . . .	I. Med. Cg. on Indus. Accidents. . . .	1		
1905. . . .	I. As. for Race Hygiene		Ce.	Munich
1906. . . .	I. Lg. vs. Abuse of Alcohol	1		Berlin
1906. . . .	I. Cn. to Study Occupat. Diseases. . .	2	Cl.	Milan
1906. . . .	I. Anti-Masonic Cg.	1		
1906. . . .	Mezzofantibund	2	Ce.	Wiesbaden
1906. . . .	I Confed. of Agric. Coop. Soc's. . . .	3	Ce.	
1907. . . .	As. of Cosmopolitan Clubs	5		Milwaukee
1907. . . .	I. Temperance Bu.		Cn.	Lausanne
1907. . . .	I. Un. for Protec. of Children		Bu.	Brussels
1907. . . .	U. White Cross Soc.		Ce.	Geneva
1907. . . .	I. Cf. of Socialist Women.	2		
1907. . . .	I. Cf. of Socialist Journalists.	4		
1907. . . .	I. Anarchist Cg.	1		
1907. . . .	Lg. of American Students	3	Bu.	
1908. . . .	I. Cg. vs. Duelling	2	Cl.	Budapest
1908. . . .	Welt-vereinigung Kosmopolit			Leipzig
1908. . . .	I. Cg. vs. Indecent Pictures	1		
1908. . . .	I. Child Welfare Cg.	2		
1908. . . .	Perm. I. Ce. on Social Ins.	2	Ce.	Paris
1908. . . .	I. Food Cg. (White Cross Soc.)	2		Geneva
1908. . . .	I. Cg. of Consumers' Leagues	2	Sec.	Fribourg
1909. . . .	I. Cath. Lg. vs. Alcohol	2	Bu.	Maestricht
1909. . . .	Soc. I. des Intellectuels			Catane
1909. . . .	I. Prohibitionist Fed.	3	Ce.	London
1909. . . .	I. V. fur Wirtschaftphilosophie	2	Ce.	Berlin
1910. . . .	Gen. Sec. of Abstinent Socialists . . .	2	Sec.	Berlin
1910. . . .	Pro Gentilezza.		Bu.	Rome
1910. . . .	I. Humane Cf.	1		
1910. . . .	World Fed. of Pacifist Y. P.			Milan
1910. . . .	I. Cg. of Mining Prop., Hyg., etc. . . .	3	Ce.	Paris
1910. . . .	I. Cg. vs. Street Noises	2		
1910. . . .	I. Homework Cg.	2	Bu.	Brussels
1910. . . .	I. As. on Unemployment	3	Ce.	Paris
1910. . . .	Carnegie Endowment for I. Peace . . .			Washington
1910. . . .	World's Peace Foundation.			Boston
1911. . . .	I. Pacifist Catholic Lg.			Brussels

UNOFFICIAL CONGRESSES, ASSOCIATIONS, ETC. — *Continued.*

ORG'D	VII. SOCIAL INTEREST	NO. M'TINGS	PER. ORG'N	HEADQUARTERS
1911. . . .	Die Brucke			Munich
1911. . . .	I. Al. of Men for Wom. Suffrage . . .	2	Sec.	Utrecht
1911. . . .	I. Fed. Protec. Native Races vs. Al. . .		Ce.	
1911. . . .	I. Cg. of Cent. Amer. Students . . .	1		
1911. . . .	I. Juvenile Courts Cg.	1	Sec.	Paris
1911. . . .	I. Soc. for Protec. Sponge Fisher . . .		Ce.	Canea
1911. . . .	I. As. for Destruction of Rats		Ce.	Copenhagen
1911. . . .	I. As. for Protec. Motherhood	1	Ce.	Berlin
1911. . . .	U. Cf. of Mussulmans	1		
1912. . . .	Av. for I. Interchange of Students . . .			London
1912. . . .	I. Feminist Cg. of Brussels	1		
1912. . . .	I. Cg. on the Negro	1		
1912. . . .	I. Tech. Cg. for Preven. Indus. Ac. . .	1		
1912. . . .	I. Eugenics Cg.	1		
1912. . . .	I. Cf. on Public Baths	1		
1913. . . .	Cg. I. " Pour Mieux se connaitre „ . .	1		
1913. . . .	I. Cg. vs. Adulteration, etc.	1		
	I. Cg. of the Deaf & Dumb	3		
	I. Purity Cg.	8		
	I. Theosophical Peace Cg.	1		
	I. Bu. of Abstinent Students		Sec.	Zurich
	U. As. of Esperan. Good Templars . .			Worms
	I. Un. of Abstaining Teachers			London
	I. Fed. of Abstinent Physicians		Sec.	Carlsbad
	I. Ce. of Abstinent Priests		Sec.	Cologne
	Die Weltwarte			Leipzig
	Internacia Ligo.		Ce.	Zurich
	Welt Verein.			Munich

TABLE 1.

CONFERENCES OF GENERAL INTEREST, SHOWING THE
DEGREE TO WHICH EACH HAS RECEIVED THE ADHERENCE OF THE NATIONS

I. — ADMINISTRATION.

I. *Sanitation.*

I. Sanitary Cf.	100
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2. Standardization.

Wts. and Meas.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	_____
I. Monetary Cf.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	_____
World's Map	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	_____
Causes of Death	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	_____
I. Pharmacopoeic	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	_____

3. *Explor'n and Mens.*

I. Geodetic As	_____
I. Seismological Cf.	_____
I. Hydrographic Cl.	_____

4. Conservation.

Labor Legislation 100

5. Communication.

Postal Union	_____
U. Tele. Union	_____
Protec. Sub-Mar. Cab.	_____
Radiotel. Union	_____
I. Maritime Cf.	_____

6, Commerce and Industry.

Pub. of Customs Tariffs	_____
Commer. Statis	_____
Instit. of Agric.	_____
Exch. of Off. Pubs.	_____

7. *Police Regulation.*

Slave Traffic	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	_____
Reg. of Alco. in Africa	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	_____
Repres. Obscene Lit.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	_____
I. Opium Cf.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	_____
Suppres. White Slav.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	_____

II. — LEGISLATION.

Peace Cf.	_____
Naval Cf.	_____
I. Patent Law	_____
I. Copyright Law	_____
Private I. Law	_____
Maritime Law	_____

(Reproduced from "The Rise of Internationalism,, by John Culbert Faries, A. M.).

TABLE II.
SHOWING DEGREE OF COOPERATION OF EACH NATION
IN THE THIRTY GROUPS OF CONFERENCES LISTED IN TABLE I

Scale 0 50 100

(Reproduced from "The Rise of Internationalism", by John Culbert Faries, A. M.).

CHART I.

SHOWING THE GROWTH OF INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES AND CONGRESSES YEAR BY YEAR.

THE HIGH POINTS OF THE CURVE WILL BE SEEN TO OCCUR IN THE YEARS OF GREAT WORLD'S FAIRS VIZ;
 PARIS, 1867; PHILADELPHIA, 1876; PARIS, 1878; PARIS, 1879; CHICAGO, 1893; BRUSSELS, 1897;
 PARIS, 1905; ST. LOUIS, 1904; LIEGE 1905; BRUSSELS, 1910.

(Reproduced from "The Rise of Internationalism", by John Culbert Faries, A. M.)

CHART II.

SHOWING GROWTH OF INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES AND CONGRESSES
BY DECADES, 1844-1913.

FIGURES TAKEN FROM ANNUAIRE DE LA VIE INTERNATIONALE 1910-11.

(Reproduced from "The Rise of Internationalism", by John Culbert Faries, A. M.)

GREAT BRITAIN EXPENDITURES FOR INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES 1904-13.

POUNDS.

Activity	1903-4	1904-5	1905-6	1906-7	1907-8	1908-9	1909-10	1910-11	1911-12	1912-13
Agricultural Institute, International . . . ,	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	960	960	960	960	1,260
Arbitration, International Court of - at the Hague .	300	300	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200
Atlantic Fisheries Arbitration.	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	5,000	. .	. .
Brussels and Zanzibar, International Maritime Slave Trade Bureaux at . . .	400	400	400	400	400	400	400	400	400	400
Brussels, Rome and Turin Exhibitions.	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	60,000	40,000	. .	. .
Brussels Sugar Convention, Permanent Bureau . . .	. .	750	750	750	750	750	350	450	450	450
Claims Conference at Washington	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	2,500	3,000
Copyright Bureau, International	250	250	250	250	250	250	170	275	275	275
Eastern Affairs, International Conference on.	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	5,000	. .	. .	. .
Electrical Units and Standards, International Conference on	. .	. .	. .	250	250	250	. .	. .	. .	. .
Fisheries Investigation, International North Sea . . .	13,500	14,000	15,000	13,000	12,500	13,000	13,000	15,365	14,6	14,486
Geodetic Association, International.	300	417	300	300	419	300	630	300	300	300
Greek Finance, International Commission for the control of	850	850	1,000	1,000	1,000	400	400	400	400	400
Industrial Property, International Bureau at Berne for the Protection of . . .	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
Macedonia, International Commission for control of finances of	. .	. .	. .	1,300	1,300	1,900	1,900	. .	. .	. .
Metric Bureau, International.	260	260	350	250	250	350	350	340	340	340
Navigation Congresses, International Association of. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	100	100	100	100
Opium Commission, International at Shanghai . . .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	2,000	2,000	2,000	. .
Peace Conference at the Hague	. .	. .	. .	2,500	2,500	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Pelagic Sealing Conference at Washington	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	2,500	. .
Public Health, International Bureau of	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	625	625
Railway Congress, International	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80
St. Louis Exposition . . .	30,000	70,000	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Seismic Association, International	. .	. .	. .	250	210	210	210	210	210	370
Tariffs Bureau, International.	189	189	189	189	189	189	189	189	189	189
Venezuelan Arbitration at the Hague	. .	6,000	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Vienna and Buenos Aires Exhibitions.	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	14,250	. .	. .

DÉPENSES INTERNATIONALES DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE FRANCAISE 1903-1913 inc.

FRANCS.

Activity	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913
Le Bureau international pour la publication des tarifs douaniers.	6,900	6,900	6,900	6,900	6,900	6,900	6,900	6,900	6,900	6,900
Conférence internationale des administrations techniques des télégraphes et des téléphones	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	80,000	. .	. .	. .
Association nationale pour la protection légale des travailleurs et office international du travail	. .	. .	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	14,000	20,000	25,000
L'Association internationale des congrès de la route et office national du tourisme.	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	15,000	45,000	45,000	45,000	45,000
Le Congrès international de la tuberculose.	. .	100,000	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
L'Exposition internationale de Turin	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	1,170,000	20,000	8,000
L'Exposition internationale de sports et de chasse de Vienne	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	170,000	. .	. .	. .
Participation de la France à des dépenses internationales	. .	. .	. .	12,000	21,000	35,706	43,625	43,625	43,625	49,085
La protection des oeuvres littéraires et artistiques	4,850	4,850	4,850	4,850	4,850	4,850	4,850	6,696	6,696	4,850
Le Congrès international de physiothérapie de Paris en 1910.	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	40,000	. .	. .	. .
Le Bureau et la commission internationale des poids et mesures.	11,000	11,000	. .	10,500	10,500	10,500	10,500	10,500	10,500	10,500
L'Exposition internationale de Saint Louis	564,000	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
L'Exposition internationale de Rome	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	352,800	100,000	. .	. .
L'Exposition internationale de Rome et Turin	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	50,000	. .	. .
L'Institut international de statistique	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	30,000	. .	. .	. .	. .
L'Exposition internationale d'hygiène à Dresde.	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	340,000	. .	. .
Congrès de l'institut royal anglais d'hygiène publique	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	15,000
L'Exposition internationale de Milan	. .	. .	370,000	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
L'Exposition de Marseilles	. .	. .	12,500	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
L'Exposition internationale de Liège	. .	182,000	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Subvention à l'office de législation étrangère et de droit international	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	24,500	. .
L' Association internationale permanente des congrès de Navigation	. .	. .	5,000	5,000	5,000	5,000	5,000	5,000	5,000	5,000
L'Exposition universelle et internationale de Bruxelles	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	952,000	. .	. .	. .
L'Exposition de Buenos Aires	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	750,000	. .	. .	. .
L'Office central des transports internationaux et de Congrès internationaux des Chemins de fer	22,000	22,000	24,000	24,000	24,000	24,000	21,000	21,000	21,000	21,000

(Suite) LES DÉPENSES INTERNATIONALES DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE FRANCAISE 1903-1913 inc.

FRANCS.

Activity	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913
Le Congrès international des Chemins de fer de Washington	. .	35.000	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Les Echanges internationaux.	164.000	164.000	164.000	164.000	164.000	173.000	180.000	180.000	180.000	180.000
Expositions à Paris et dans les départements	12 500	12.500	17.500	17.500	17.500	17.500	17.500	17.500	17.500	17.500
L'Exposition universelle de Gand	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	1.239.606
L'Institut international d'Agriculture	. .	. .	29.400	29.400	29.400	29.400	43.500	43.500	43.500	43.500
La cour d'Arbitrage de la Haye	20.000	20.000	20.000	20.000	20.000	20.000	20.000	20.000	20.000	130.770
Comité permanent international des Assurances sociales et comité permanent des congrès internationaux des habitations à bon marché .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	8.000
L'Institut international à Berne pour la protection de la propriété industrielle. . .	3.700	3.700	3.700	3.700	3.700	3.700	3.700	3.700	3.700	3.700
Le Congrès international de la traite des Blanches . .	. .	. .	25.000	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
L'Exposition maritime de Bordeaux	. .	. .	. .	10.000	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Total annuel	808.950	561.950	705.350	319.850	318.850	387.556	2.758.375	2.077.421	467.921	1.813.406

EXPENDITURES FOR INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE UNITED STATES RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES.

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EXPENDITURES FOR INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES.

(Cont.) DEPARTMENT OF STATE UNITED STATES RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES.

Activity	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913
Prisons Commission, International	1.854	2.094	1.942	2.055	1.802	2.161	1.895	1.985	21	1.583
Prison Congress International at Washington	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	3.500	16.499	9	. .
Prize Court Conference At London, International	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	10.000	. .	. .	. .	. .
Quito, Ecuador Exposition	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	22.670	20.909	10	. .	. .
Radiotelegraphic Conference, International	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	4.716
Railway Congress International	. .	. .	800	400	400	400	400	400	. .	800
Red Cross, International Conference of the, - London 1907.	. .	. .	. .	. .	3.000	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Red Cross, International Conference of the - Washington 1912	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	20.000	. .
Relationships between gold Standard and Silver using countries	30.000	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Rio de Janeiro, 3rd Conference of American States	. .	. .	49.730	. .	562	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Rome and Turin, International Exposition at	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	25.000	55.189	33.150	. .
Slave Trade, Repression of African	100	100	75	87	84	111	84	115	100	131
Sanitary Bureau, International	. .	500	1.011	2.445	230	3.433	2.170	4.555	1.256	2.757
Santiago Chile, Scientific Conference at	. .	. .	. .	. .	1.000	30.000	3.876	. .	. .	. .
Seismological Association, International	. .	. .	. .	1.151	1.222	894	. .	1.536	. .	767
Tokyo 1912, International Exposition at	. .	. .	. .	. .	5.000	14.878	. .	. .	. .	. .
Tuberculosis, International Congress at Washington, D. C.	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	16.388	. .	10.900	. .	. .
Union of American Republics, International	35.060	45.465	38.553	238.320	34.317	53.679	57.500	76.000	74.957	75.042
Weights and Measures, International Bureau	. .	2.203	4.482	2.291	. .	2.306	5.790	. .	. .	2.895

INTERIOR DEPARTMENT UNITED STATES RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES.

Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition: Alaskan Exhibit Hawaiian	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	91.676	32.263	. .	54	4
International Protection of Industrial Property - Patent Office	1.388	706	685	676	. .	1.355	4	. .	. .	1.304
International Association for the Protection of Industrial Property	. .	. .	319	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition: Alaskan Exhibit	. .	4.819	14.713	. .	26	. .	. .	5	. .	. .
Louisiana Purchase Exposition: Alaskan Exhibit Indian Territory Testing fuel Exhibiting Model of the Capitol at Indian Exhibit	119.135	158.727	158.012	250.449	253.019	249.426	101.104	49	. .	26

EXPENDITURES FOR INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES.

NAVY DEPARTMENT UNITED STATES RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS.

Activity	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913
Jamestown Exposition: Exhibition of Monitors . . .	. .	. .	. .	9.900	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Entertainment of Foreign Naval Representatives . . .	. .	. .	. .	2.679	50.332	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE UNITED STATES RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS.

Louisiana Purchase Exposition: Testing timbers . .	3.000	7.000	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
International Dry Land Congress at Lethbridge, Canada	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	8.000
Commission to investigate Rural Credit in Europe . .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	25.000
International Dry Land Congress Tulsa, Okla	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	2.500

LEGISLATIVE UNITED STATES RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS.

International Irrigation Congress Salt Lake City, Utah. . .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	10.000
Jamestown Exposition: Expenses Senate Committee . .	. .	. .	. .	2.000	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
House Committee	. .	. .	. .	4.000	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition: Opening of - Senate. Expenses. . . .	. .	4.000	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
House Committee	. .	6.000	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Louisiana Purchase Exposition: Opening of - Expenses Senate Committee . .	2.242	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
House Committee	3.500	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Centennial of the Republic of Mexico Expenses of Commission	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	10.000	. .	. .
Commission to Investigate the purchase of American grown tobacco by Foreign Governments	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	4.213

WAR DEPARTMENT UNITED STATES RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS.

Aaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition Philippine Exhibit . .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	12.025	3.842	139	. .	. .
Navigation Permanent International Commission of Congresses of.	983	1.197	2.928	1.900	3.116	2.981	2.080	3.000	3.000	3.000
Entertainment of foreign military Representatives at Jamestown Exposition . .	. .	. .	. .	20.417	4.334	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
U. S. and foreign troops expenses at Jamestown Exposition.	. .	. .	. .	2.000	5.000	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Meeting of Permanent International Association of Navigation Congresses in U. S. . .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	4.500	44.668	. .
International Rifle Competition	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	5.000
Waterways Commission, International	. .	. .	. .	19.234	18.345	18.919	20.520	19.602	20.024	15.091

EXPENDITURES FOR INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES.

INDEPENDENT BUREAUS AND OFFICES UNITED STATES RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS.

Activity	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913
Smithsonian Institution: In- ternational exchanges . .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	31.876	31.982	31.000	32.125	32.380
International Catalogue of Scientific Literature. . .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	5.017	6.000	7.400	7.095	7.874

TREASURY UNITED STATES RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

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LES DÉPENSES INTERNATIONALES DU ROYAUME BELGE

FRANCS.

Activity	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913
Le Bureau international de la cour permanente d'arbitrage	4.000	4.000	4.000	4.000	4.000.—	4.000	4.000	1.992.53	4.000	4.000
L'exposition internationale de Amsterdam 1907.	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	55.000.—	. .	. .
L'Office internationale de bibliographie.	25.000	25.000	25.000	25 000	25.000.—	25.000	25.090	30.000.—	30.000	30.000
L'Exposition universelle et internationale de Bruxelles 1910	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	400.000.—	. .	. .
Le Bureau international de Berne	5.750	5.750	5.750	5.750	5.750.—	5.750	5.750	6.082.29	5.750	5.750
Les Conférences internationales et la commission internationale du Congrès des chemins de fer	14.000	14.000	14.000	14.000	14.000.—	14.000	14.000	10.485.10	14.000	14.000
L'Institut Colonial international ,	10.000	10.000	10.000	10.000	10.000.—	10.000	10.000	10.000.—	10.000	10.000
Les Echanges internationaux (Agriculture)	20.000	20.000	20.000	20.000	20.000.—	20.000	20.000	20.000.—	20.000	20.000
Les Echanges littéraires internationaux	15.300	15.300	15.300	16.500	17.801.38	20.000	22.500	23.635.28	25.000	29.500
Le Conseil international pour l'exploration de la mer. .	18.000	18.000	18.000	18.000	17.999.69	18.000	18.000	18.000.—	18.000	18.000
Office international d'hygiène publique	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	9.375.—	. .	. .
Le Bureau spécial d'échange et de renseignements sur la traite des esclaves . . .	700	700	700	700	700.—	700	700	432.53	700	700
Les Subsidés à des Expositions ou Sections d'expositions intéressant le Ministre de l'Industrie et du Travail . .	20.000	20.000	20.000	20.000	20.000.—	20.000	20.000	20.000.—	20.000	20.000
La Participation à la police internationale des pêcheries dans la mer du Nord . .	99.735	99.735	99.735	99.735	99.735.—	99.735	99.735	95.036.23	99.735	99.735
Le Bureau international des poids et mesures. . . .	20.000	2.000	2.000	2.000	2.000.—	2.000	2.000	1.367.—	2.000	2.000
L'Exposition d'Horticulture de Gand	. .	. .	. .	. .	50.000.—	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Le Bureau international pour la protection de la propriété industrielle.	2.500	2.500	2.500	2.500	2.500.—	2.500	2.500	2.100.—	2.500	2.500
L'Union international pour la protection des oeuvres littéraires et artistiques . . .	2.400	2.400	2.400	2.400	2.400.—	2.400	2.400	1.918.24	2.400	2.400
L'Exposition universelle de Liège	. .	1.346.550	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
L'Exposition universelle de Saint Louis en 1904 . .	700.000	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
La Commission pénitentiaire internationale	. .	. .	. .	9.000	9.000.—	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
L'Exposition universelle de Saint Pétersbourg . . .	92.209	50.000	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Bureau central des recherches seismologiques a Strasbourg	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000.—	1.000	1.000	990.20	1.000	1.000
Le Bureau permanent et de la Commission internationale des sucres	3.500	3.500	3.500	3.500	3.500.—	3.500	3.500	3.500.—	3.500	3.500
L'Exposition universelle et internationale de Bruxelles .	. .	. .	. .	. .	30.000.—	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .

(Cont.) LES DÉPENSES INTERNATIONALES DU ROYAUME BELGE

FRANCIS.

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EXPENDITURES FOR INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES

ITALY.

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(Cont.) EXPENDITURES FOR INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES

ITALY.

Activity	1903-4	1904-5	1905-6	1906-7	1907-8	1908-9	1909-10	1910-11	1911-12	1912-13
Lire.										
(Cont.) MINISTERO DEGLI AFFARI ESTERI										
La pubblicazione del XVII volume della raccolta dei trattati e convenzioni internazionali	. .	. .	. .	. .	2.000	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Interparlamentare Congresso per la pace da tenersi in Roma nel 1911	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	150.000	. .	. .	. .
Spese per missioni all'estero e Congressi	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	910
Congresso internazionale della pace in occasione delle feste commemorative dell'unificazione del Regno	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	65.000	. .	. .
Spese per l'istituto internazionale di agricoltura in Roma	. .	. .	. .	20.000	37.472	57.424	32.000	32.000	. .	. .
MINISTERO DELL'ISTRUZIONE PUBBLICA.										
Spese alle scuole normali di ginnastica di Roma e Torino per partecipazioni alla mostra internazionale di Bruxelles	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	21.742	. .	. .	. .
Esposizione internazionale di Bruxelles	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	21.327	. .	. .
Ufficio internazionale dei pesi e misure in Parigi	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	5.000
Rimborso al comitato del concorso ginnastico internazionale di Torino per sussidi ai componenti le squadre delle scuole medie governative che parteciparono al concorso scolastico di educazione fisica, nel 1911	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	12.000	. .	. .
Olimpiade internazionale di Londra	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	25.000	. .	. .	. .	. .
Eccedenza d'impegni verificatasi al capitolo concorso nelle spese per le Esposizioni estere e nazionali dello stato di previsione della spesa per l'esercizio.	. .	231	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Spese da sostenersi dall'accademia dei Lincei in occasione dell'adunanza generale dell'associazione internazionale delle accademie scientifiche che si tenne in Roma nel 1910	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	5.000	. .	. .	. .
La pubblicazione degli atti del XII Congresso degli Orientalisti	. .	. .	. .	. .	2.500	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Residue all'Esposizione internazionale di Parigi nel 1900	345	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Esposizione internazionale di St. Louis	145.411	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Quota parte a carico dello Stato italiano delle spese relative all'ufficio centrale istituito in Berna. Convenzione internazionale pel trasporto delle merci in strada ferrata.	. .	10.000	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .

(Cont.) EXPENDITURES FOR INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES

ITALY.

Activity	1903-4	1904-5	1905-6	1906-7	1907-8	1908-9	1909-10	1910-11	1911-12	1912-13
Lire.										
(Cont.) MINISTERO DELL'ISTRUZIONE PUBBLICA.										
Comitato internazionale per la pubblicazione annuale di costanti e di dati numerici di chimica, di fisica e di tecnologia	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	20.000
Commissione internazionale per l'insegnamento matematico	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	5.000	. .	. .
Stampa dei bollettini delle opere moderne italiane e straniere	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	12.068
Congresso internazionale di Psicologia in Roma . . .	. .	4.000	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Congresso internazionale di navigazione da tenersi in Milano nel 1905.	. .	100.000	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Congresso internazionale di Storia dell'arte in Roma .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	15.000
Esposizione internazionale d'arte da tenersi nella città di Venezia nel 1912 . . .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	70.000
Congresso internazionale di patologia in Torino . . .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	8.500	. .	. .	. .
Congresso internazionale di educazione fisica in Parigi.	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	12.600
Ufficio regionale italiano per la compilazione del catalogo internazionale di letteratura scientifica	8.380	26.701	12.261	. .	. .	5.064	25.000	21.894	. .	26.009
Unificazione del Regno . .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	210.000	. .	. .
Mantenimento degli uffici di segreteria della commissione permanente dell'associazione geodetica internazionale in Berlino	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	32.500	31.444	. .	. .
Partecipazione del Ministero della pubblica istruzione alla mostra internazionale di igiene sociale in Roma nel 1911.	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	30.000	. .	3.908
Congresso internazionale di chimica applicata da tenersi in Roma nel 1906 . . .	. .	. .	80.000	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Congresso internazionale di ginnastica in Torino. . .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	26.500	26.500	. .	. .
Esposizione internazionale di arte moderna nella città di Venezia.	. .	. .	50.000	. .	appropriated 50.000	50.000	50.000	. .	. .	. .
Congresso internazionale di filosofia in Bologna nel 1911	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	15.000	15.000	. .	. .
Spesa per il rinnovamento del materiale artistico e degli altri oggetti distrutti dall'incendio della mostra di architettura nell'Esposizione internazionale di Milano	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	5.420	556	. .	. .
Acquisto di opere d'arte all'Esposizione internazionale di belle arti del 1911 in Roma	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	100.000	. .	3.400

(Cont.) EXPENDITURES FOR INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES

ITALY.

Activity	1903-4	1904-5	1905-6	1906-7	1907-8	1908-9	1909-10	1910-11	1911-12	1912-13
L i r e .										
(Cont.) MINISTERO DELL'ISTRUZIONE PUBBLICA.										
Esposizione internazionale di arte da tenersi nella città di Venezia nel 1910 . .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	20.000	20.000	. .	. .
Esposizione internazionale di Bruxelles	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	21.742	. .	. .	20
Espedizioni e missioni diverse ordinate dal Ministero . .	. .	60.105	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	7.759
Congresso di patologia. . .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	8.500	8.500	. .	. .
Congresso internazionale di scienze storiche	appropriated 6.000	12.000	6.000	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Acquisto di azioni di società promotrici di belle arti e concorso alle Esposizioni artistiche estere e internazionale	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	3.000	. .	. .	. .	. .
Congresso archeologico internazionale in Roma nel 1911 . . .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	20.000	11.622	. .	. .
Riparazioni straordinarie al fabbricato demaniale ove ha sede il regio istituto internazionale Vittorio Emanuele in Napoli	. .	. .	12.000	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Congresso delle società per l'incoraggiamento delle scienze da tenersi in Firenze nel 1908.	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	3.000	. .	. .	. .	. .
MINISTERO DELLE POSTE E TELEGRAFI.										
Partecipazione all'Esposizione di Torino nel 1911 . . .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	appropriated 298.000	. .	. .	. .
Decima conferenza telegrafica internazionale di Lisbon . .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	3.675	. .	. .	. .	. .
Rimborsi dovuti per il cambio con l'estero delle corrispondenze	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	21.614	. .	. .	. .
Congresso della Unione postale universale da tenersi in Roma nel 1906	. .	. .	10.000	. .	. .	. .	. .	appropriated 75.051	. .	. .
Uffici internazionali a Berna . . .	. .	. .	. .	. .	10.000	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Partecipazioni del Ministero all'Esposizione internazionale di Milano nel 1906. . .	. .	. .	320.448	. .	21.016	appropriated 3.189	. .	appropriated 3.189	. .	. .
MINISTERO DEI LAVORI PUBBLICI.										
Rimborso da parte delle Società ferroviarie interessate per le spese relative all'ufficio centrale istituito in Berna	. .	6.109	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Spese per la partecipazione all'Esposizione di Torino nel 1911.	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	70.000	196	. .	. .
Concorso dell'amministrazione nella spesa degli uffici internazionali a Berna. . .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	10.000	. .	. .	1.200

(Cont.) EXPENDITURES FOR INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES

ITALY.

Activity	1903-4	1904-5	1905-6	1906-7	1907-8	1908-9	1909-10	1910-11	1911-12	1912-13
Lire.										
(Cont.) MINISTERO DEI LAVORI PUBBLICI.										
Concorso dello Stato a favore del Comitato permanente del congresso internazionale ferroviario residente in Bruxelles	. .	. .	1.000	. .	997	. .	. .	. .	1.003	. .
Partecipazione del Ministero dei lavori pubblici all'Esposizione di Torino nel 1911.	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	70.000	. .	. .	. .
Congresso internazionale di patologia in Torino nel 1911.	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	8.500	. .	. .	. .
MINISTERO DELL' INTERNO.										
Congresso internazionale contro la tubercolosi da tenersi in Roma nel 1911 . . .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	150.000	. .	. .	. .
Congresso medico internazionale per gli infortuni sul lavoro	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	15.000	. .	. .	. .	. .
Congresso internazionale di assistenza pubblica e privata da tenersi in Milano nel 1906.	. .	. .	25.000	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Espedizioni e missioni diverse all'interno e all'estero nell'interesse del Ministero e rappresentanze a congressi e ad Esposizioni.	. .	. .	1.000	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Concorso nelle spese dei congressi di beneficenza in Copenhagen, di scienze amministrazione in Bruxelles, penitenziarie in Washington per la disoccupazione a Parigi e di scienze archivistiche in Bruxelles	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	22.200	. .	. .
Contributi a commissioni ed uffici internazionali istituiti in dipendenza di speciali convenzioni.	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	4.500
Esposizione internazionale di igiene a Dresda nel 1911.	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	30.000	. .	. .
Esposizione internazionale di igiene sociale in Roma nel 1911.	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	150.000	. .	100.000
Congresso internazionale dell'associazione di stampa indetto a Roma nel 1911 .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	38.000	. .	appropriated 50.000
Spese per il concorso della Direzione di sanità pubblica all'Esposizione internazionale di Bruxelles nel 1910 .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	35.564	. .	. .	. .
Commissioni internazionali di penitenziaria	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Spese per il concorso della Direzione generale per la sanità pubblica all'Esposizione internazionale di Milano nel 1906.	. .	. .	83.851	. .	7.626	. .	. .	. .	. .	1.239

(Cont.) EXPENDITURES FOR INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES

ITALY.

Activity	1903-4	1904-5	1905-6	1906-7	1907-8	1908-9	1909-10	1910-11	1911-12	1912-13
Lire.										
MINISTERO DELLA GUERRA.										
Spese per la partecipazione del Ministero della guerra all'Esposizione di Torino nel 1911	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	70.000	44.656	. .	. .
MINISTERO DELLA MARINA.										
Spese per la partecipazione del Ministero della marina all'Esposizione di Torino nel 1911.	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	70.000	. .	. .	. .
MINISTERO DELL'AGRICOLTURA, INDUSTRIA E COMMERCIO.										
Spese di qualsiasi genere relative al mantenimento all'assistenza in Italia della commissione degli Stati Uniti di America incaricata di studiare il sistema cooperativo di credito rurale in Europa	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	22.195
Esposizione anglo industriale in Cuneo	. .	6.000	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Esposizione agraria di Padova.	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	1.000	. .	. .	. .
Delegati della conferenza per l'istituto agrario internazionale nel 1905.	. .	. .	12.978	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Congresso internazionale dell'assicurazione sociale	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	20.000	. .	. .	. .	. .
Ufficio internazionale sismologico a Strasburgo	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	60.752	72.520	. .	. .
Espedizioni e missioni diverse all'interno e all'estero nell'interesse del Ministero e rappresentanze a Congressi e ad Esposizioni.	3.992	10.230	. .	30.500	25.600	2.000	358.181	37.500	. .	. .
Ufficio internazionale dei pesi e delle misure in Parigi	. .	31.791	36.401	. .	. .	22.895	9.892	. .	. .	6.179
Società di esplorazioni geografiche e commerciali.	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	146.809	. .	. .	. .	. .
Istituto internazionale di sociologia	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	3.000	. .	. .
Residue dell'Italia all'Esposizione universale internazionale di Parigi del 1900	. .	111	67	14.693	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Esposizione di orticoltura da tenersi in Firenze nel 1911.	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	10.000	. .	. .
Esposizione internazionale delle ferrovie e dei trasporti terrestri e quella di agricoltura e d'igiene e di belle arti in Buenos Aires nel 1910.	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	225.000	222.724	. .	. .
Prima Esposizione internazionale di luccio in Vienna	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	74.247	30.381	254	. .
Bureau international di Berna.	. .	1.385	. .	. .	. .	12.552	4.629	5.500	. .	7.012
Esposizione internazionale di Bruxelles nel 1910	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	150.000	50.000	200.000	. .	. .
Esposizione di Torino nel 1910.	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	165.000	57.523	55.130	. .

(Cont.) EXPENDITURES FOR INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES

ITALY.

Activity	1903-4	1904-5	1905-6	1906-7	1907-8	1908-9	1909-10	1910-11	1911-12	1912-13
Lire										
(Cont.) MINISTERO DELL'AGRICOLTURA, INDUSTRIA E COMMERCIO.										
Sussidi e spese per Esposizioni all'interno ed estero ed acquisto di medaglie .	6.350	11.694	. .	15.000	. .	. .	10.438	. .	. .	4.176
Convenzioni italo-francese relative alla reciproca protezione degli operai . . .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	98.839	76.216	15.000	. .	.
Congresso internazionale di demografia rurale in Bruxelles nel 1910	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	8.357	559	1.083	. .
Esposizione internationale di St. Louis	65.710	9.755.397	. .	69.109	11.688	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Borse di perfezione aumento tecnico all'interno ed all'estero a favore di giovani licenziati dalle scuole industriali e dalla Regia scuola di setificio in Como assegnati per il perfezionamento all'estero nella chimica industriale	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	11.900	. .	.

EXPENDITURES FOR INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES

GERMANY.

REFERENCES:
Übersicht der Reichs-Ausgaben
und Einnahmen 1904-5-6-7-8.
Haushaltsetat des Deutschen
Reichs 1905-9-10-11-12-13.

Activity	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913
	M a r k s .									
Erweiterungsbau der Ausstel- lungshalle der ständigen Ausstellung für Arbeitswohl- fahrt.	. .	. .	42.139	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Beitrag für die Union interpar- lementaire pour l'arbitrage international	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	5.000	5.000	5.000
Unterstützung für die Betei- lung der deutschen Kunst an internationalen Ausstel- lung des Auslandes. . .	20.000	20.000	. .	. .	10.000	20.000	20.000	20.000	20.000	20.000
Beihilfe für die internationale Vereinigung für gesetzlichen Arbeiterschütz zur Unter- haltung des internationalen Arbeitsamt	6.000	6.000	8.000	8.000	8.000	8.000	8.000	8.000	8.000	8.000
Dispositions fonds zur gewah- rung von Zuschüssen zwecks Ausübung ausserge- wöhnlicher internationaler Repräsentation.	6.504	. .	9.078	. .	. .	8.000	. .	. .	. .	. .
Zur unterhaltung der Standi- gen Ausstellung für Arbei- terwohlfahrt	. .	. .	35.642	55.344	46.076	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Beteiligung des Reichs an der internationalen Bibliogra- phie der Naturwissenschaf- ten	32.141	30.000	38.226	36.894	39.300	35.000	35.000	35.000	40.000	40.000
Beitrag für die durch den Brüsseler Vertrag über die Behandlung des Zuckers eingesetzte ständige Kom- mission zur überwachung der Ausführung der Ver- tragsbestimmungen . . .	2.835	2.835	2.835	2.835	2.835	2.835	2.835	2.835	2.835	2.835
Beitrag zu den Kosten der Unterhaltung der botani- schen Zentralstelle in Ber- lin	. .	. .	. .	10.000	10.000	10.000	10.000	10.000	20.000	20.000
Kosten der Beteiligung des Reichs an der Weltausstel- lung in Brüssel 1910 . .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	400.000	575.021	. .	. .	. .
Kosten aus Anbarz der Vor- bereitung zur Teilnahme an der für 1910 geplanten Weltausstellung in Brüssel.	. .	. .	. .	. .	24.978	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Für Benützung fremder Be- triebsmittel.	. .	. .	2.133.172	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Und für Dienstleistungen fremder Beamten. . . .	. .	. .	4.825.061	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Beitrag des Reichs zu den Kosten der Konferenz der « Union Interparlementaire » in Berlin	. .	. .	. .	. .	124.793	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Beitrag zu den Kosten des internationalen Kongresses für historische Wissenschaf- ten zu Berlin im Jahre 1908	. .	. .	. .	. .	20.000	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Beitrag zu den Kosten des 5 internationalen Kongresses für Versicherungswissens- schaft und des 4 internatio- nalen Kongresses für Ver- sicherungsmedizin zu Berlin im Jahre 1906	. .	. .	10.000	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .

(Cont.) EXPENDITURES FOR INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES

GERMANY.

Activity	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913
	M a r k s .									
Geschäftskosten des deutschen Mitglieds des internationalen Komitees für Mass und gewichtswesen. . .	868	1.500	947	2.309	963	1.500	1.500	1.599	1.500	1.500
Jahresbeitrag zu den Kosten des internationalen Mass und Gewichtsvereins in Paris	10.276	9.900	9.988	10.009	9.480	9.900	9.900	9.900	9.900	9.900
Beteiligung des Reichs an der internationalen Ausstellung zu Deier der Eröffnung des Simplontunnels in Mailand (1906)	. .	. .	157.708	63.668	10.400	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Die dritte internationale Mathematische Kongresse in Heidelberg 1904. . . .	5.000	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Internationale Erforschung der nordischen Märe im Interesse der Seefischerei . .	55.000	120.000	145.012	114.996	134.409	120.000	100.000	100.000	100.000	100.000
Beiträge zur Unterhaltung der internationalen Post und Telegraphenbüros . . .	11.200	11.200	11.200	11.200	11.200	11.200	11.200	11.200	11.200	11.200
Die Weltausstellung in Paris im Jahre 1900	92	. .	398	155	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Die internationalen Kunstausstellung in Rom 1911	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	80.000	200.000	. .	. .
Beitrag zu den Kosten des Kongresses der Internationalen Vereinigung für gewerblichen Reichsschutz in Berlin	5.000	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Jahresbeitrag zu den Kosten einer ständigen Kommission zur Vorbereitung internationalen Schiffahrtskongresse.	4.000	4.000	4.000	4.000	4.000	4.000	4.000	4.000	4.000	4.000
Jahresbeitrag zu den Kosten der internationalen seismologischen assoziation . .	3.200	3.200	3.200	3.200	3.200	3.200	3.200	3.200	3.200	3.200
Beitrag an das Internationale Institut für Sozialbibliographie	. .	. .	. .	. .	15.000	15.000	15.000	15.000	15.000	15.000
Die Weltausstellung in St. Louis 1904	1.562.237	. .	249.279	11.325	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Kosten durch die Mitbeteiligung des Reichs an einer in St. Petersburg stattfindenden internationalen Kunstgewerblichen Ausstellung .	. .	. .	. .	. .	30.000	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Beitrag zu den Kosten der Beteiligung der Deutschen Industrie an der Internationalen Industrie und Gewerbeausstellung in Turin.	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	120.000	. .	. .
Beitrag des Reichs zu den Kosten der Zentralstelle für Volkswohlfahrt	. .	. .	. .	. .	10.000	10.000	10.000	10.000	12.500	12.500
Jahresbeitrag zu den Kosten des internationalen Büros für die Veröffentlichung der Zollliste in Brüssel. . .	5.555	5.535	5.549	5.553	5.546	5.555	5.555	5.555	6.110	6.110

TABLE 4.

EXPENDITURES FOR INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS.

UNITED STATES.

Exhibition	Expenditure	Exhibition	Expenditure
	(In dollars)		(In dollars)
London, 1851	25,301.05	Atlanta, 1895	199,971.42
London, 1862	2,000.—	Nashville, 1897	129,947.42
Paris, 1867	188,158.54	Brussels, 1897.	5,000.—
Vienna, 1873	163,842.61	Bergen, 1868	20,000.—
Philadelphia, 1876	794,319.65	Omaha 1898	235,037.87
Paris, 1877	187,460.67	Philadelphia, 1899	350,000.—
Sydney and Melbourne, 1879-1880. .	28,000.—	Paris, 1900	1,455,436.90
Berlin, 1880	19,904.05	Charleston, 1902	249,948.63
London, 1883	69,994.31	Buffalo, 1901	1,014,053.13
Cincinnati, 1884	9,999.50	St. Louis, 1904	6,443,903.25
Louisville, 1884	9,704.44	Liege, 1903	5,000.—
New Orleans, 1884	1,649,755.35	Lewis and Clark, 1905	428,026.33
Brussels, 1888.	17,113.30	Bordeaux, 1907	15,000.—
Melbourne, 1888	40,581.14	Jamestown, 1907	¹ 2,142,730.37
Cincinnati, 1888	147,750.—	Quito-Ecuador, 1909	43,590.04
Barcelona, 1888	27,098.91	Alaska-Yukon-Pacific, 1909	595,205.32
Paris, 1889	250,004.66	Buenos Aires and Santiago, 1910	59,314.92
Madrid, 1892	24,243.97	Rome and Turin, 1911	113,340.25
Chicago, 1893.	4,793,870.33	Tokio, 1912 (not held)	19,878.46

FRANCE.

	(In francs)		(In francs)
London, 1851	667,608.56	Industrial Exposition, 1891	55,000.—
London, 1862	1,063,374.—	Chicago, 1893	3,589,514.83
London, 1871	402,628.87	Lyons, 1894	368,501.11
London, 1872	249,978.27	Antwerp, 1894	27,358.82
Lyons, 1872	200,000.—	Bordeaux, 1895	148,637.49
Vienna, 1873	962,444.—	Rouen, 1896 ,	47,300.25
London, 1874	194,074.87	Brussels, 1898.	448,894.98
Philadelphia, 1876	552,957.73	St. Petersburg, 1900	34,909.30
Sydney, 1879.	233,850.81	St. Louis, 1904	1,504,952.86
Melbourne, 1880 :	410,244.40	Liege, 1905	531,059.53
Munich-Vienna, 1883 , .	13,998.52	Milan, 1906	² 370,000.—
Amsterdam, 1883	578,136.81	Bordeaux, 1907	² 10,000.—
Nice 1885	² 50,000.—	Brussels, 1907.	² 952,000.—
Antwerp, 1885	784,156.—	Buenos Aires	² 750,000.—
International Expositions, 1888. . . .	186,850.31	Rome and Turin, 1911	² 1,700,800.—
Vienna, 1892	12,688.50	Ghent, 1913	² 1,239,606.—

¹ Includes additional amount loaned but not returned.
Congressional Record — Senate, February 6, 1908. Figures furnished by Treasury Department to Senator Burkett of Nebraska.
² Estimated.
Bulletin des Lois. 1853-1912 — Lois relatifs aux règlements définitifs du budget des exercices, 1850-1906.

EXPENDITURES FOR INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Exhibition	Expenditure	Exhibition	Expenditure
	(In pounds)		(In pounds)
New York, 1853	2.432	Melbourne, 1888	6.557
Paris, 1855 :	41.253	Jamaica, 1891.	1.000
Paris, 1867	120.556	Chicago, 1893.	61.464
Vienna, 1873	30.352	Tasmania, 1894-1895	2.000
Paris (Maritime), 1875	1.973	Antwerp, 1894	388
Philadelphia, 1876	40.462	Brussels, 1897	4.753
Paris, 1878	73,712	Paris, 1900	97.033
Sydney and Melbourne, 1879-1880. .	9.203	St. Louis, 1904 ¹	128.000
Antwerp, 1885	198	Milan, 1906 ¹	5.300
New Orleans, 1885.	200	New Zealand, 1906-1907 ¹	8.000
Adelaide, 1887	3.864	Brussels, Rome and Turin ¹	100.00
Barcelona. 1888	85	Vienna and Buenos Aires ¹	14.250

¹ Approximately.

Report of the Committee appointed by the Board of Trade to make inquiries with reference to the Participation of Great Britain in Great International Exhibitions, Parliamentary Papers, 1907 — Cd. 3772.

TABLE 5.

RECEIPTS.

DATE	WHERE HELD	DONATIONS			TOTAL	SUBSCRIPTIONS TO CAPITAL STOCK
		INDIVIDUALS	SOUVENIR COINS (GOVERNMENT)	PREMIUMS ON COINS		
1851. . .	London. . .	330.656.61	. .	. .	330.656.61	. .
1867. . .	Paris. . .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
1889. . .	Paris. . .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
1893. . .	Chicago . .	. .	1.929.120	517.560.43	2.446.680.43	5.617.154.33
1900. . .	Paris. . .	(¹) 651.439.10	. .	. .	651.439.10	. .
1904. . .	St. Louis . .	. .	250.000	53.437.94	303.437.94	4.924.313.11

(¹) Donations from individuals for construction purposes.

DATE	WHERE HELD	APPROPRIATIONS			BOND ISSUES		
		CITY	NATIONAL GOVERNMENT	TOTAL	CITY	EXPOSITION COMPANY	TOTAL
1851. . .	London. . .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
1867. . .	Paris. . .	1.158.000	1.158.000	2.316.000	. .	. .	. .
1889. . .	Paris. . .	1.544.900	3.281.000	4.825.000	. .	. .	. .
1893. . .	Chicago. . .	. .	. .	. .	5.000.000	4.444.500	9.444.500
1900. . .	Paris. . .	3.860.000	3.860.000	7.720.000	. .	. .	. .
1904. . .	St. Louis . .	. .	4.750.000	4.750.000	5.000.000	. .	5.000.000

DATE	WHERE HELD	FROM NAT'L GOVERN'T	LOANS		SEASON TICKET AND COUPONS	ADMISSIONS	
			PRIVATE	TOTAL		PAID AT GATE	TOTAL
1851. . .	London. . .	. .	267.850	267.850	328.793.42	1.735.074.73	2.063.868.15
1867. . .	Paris. . .	. .	. .	. .	180.464.65	1.897.261.31	2,077.725.96
1889. . .	Paris. . .	. .	. .	. .	13.624.64	(¹) 4.151.999.96	4.165.624.60
1893. . .	Chicago. . .	. .	. .	. .	. .	10.650.374.22	10.650.374.22
1900. . .	Paris. . .	. .	. .	. .	7.005.90	(²) 13.212.248.04	13.219.253.94
1904. . .	St. Louis . .	4.600.000	438.000	5.038.000	295.022.—	5.998.667.95	6.293.689.95

(¹) Coupon Bonds were sold for admission tickets - not actually "Paid at Gate",.

(²) Same as (2) Altho' this amount includes interest on funds received from the sale of coupon bonds.

DATE	WHERE HELD	CONCESSIONS	INTEREST	SALVAGE	MISCELLANEOUS	GRAND TOTAL RECEIPTS
1851. . .	London. . .	42.369.—	4.372.60	1.350.40	22.788.53	2.733.255.29
1867. . .	Paris. . .	249.276.41	70.408.58	207.524.28	146.628.17	5.067.563.40
1889. . .	Paris. . .	418.825.25	. .	198.909.15	42.058.25	9.650.417.25
1893. . .	Chicago. . .	3.894.457.10	76.332.62	238.810.88	851.125.04	33.219.434.62
1900. . .	Paris. . .	1.834.485.82	. .	745.582.17	208.645.49	24.379.406.52
1904. . .	St. Louis . .	3.098.030.94	292.085.71	617.299.59	1.842.931.46	32.159.788.70

DISBURSEMENTS.

DATE	WHERE HELD	ADMINISTRATIVE & MAINTENANCE AND OPERATING EXPENSES	CONSTRUCTION COSTS	RENT OF GROUNDS AND BUILDINGS
1851. . . .	London.	598.712.06	27.893.94	. .
1867. . . .	Paris	1.135.158.76	3.388.916.17	. .
1889. . . .	Paris	(1) 2.170.799.07	5.682.818.73	. .
1893. . . .	Chicago	8,613.247.83	18.678.467.61	. .
1900. . . .	Paris	5.859.560.17	17.151.001.30	. .
1904. . . .	St. Louis	8.469.059.99	(2) 17.224.380.90	1.287.660.70

(1) This amount includes \$ 211.997.90 expended for the re-purchase of materials.
(2) This amount includes \$ 476.565.05 paid out for the permanent "Jefferson Memorial",.

DATE	WHERE HELD	CITY	REPAYMENTS AND DIVIDENDS				BOND ISSUES	
			NATIONAL GOVERNMENT	CAPITAL STOCK	SUBSCRIBER'S (STOCK) GUARANTORS		CITY	COMPANY
1851. . . .	London.	. .	. .	. .	. .		. .	. .
1867. . . .	Paris.	177.946	177.946	. .	168.900.84		. .	. .
1889. . . .	Paris.	(1) 1.544.000	. .	. .	. .		. .	. .
1893. . . .	Chicago.	. .	. .	548.985	. .	50.000		4.444.500
1900. . . .	Paris.	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .		. .
1904. . . .	St. Louis	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .		. .

(1) This amount was paid to the City for the purpose of creating a new parade ground for the garrison of Paris.

DATE	WHERE HELD	REPAYMENTS AND DIVIDENDS		
		LOANS		TOTAL REPAYMENTS AND DIVIDENDS
		GOVERNMENT	PRIVATE	
1851. . . .	London	. .	267.850	267.850.—
1867. . . .	Paris	. .	. .	524.792.84
1889. . . .	Paris	. .	. .	1.544.000.—
1893. . . .	Chicago	. .	. .	5.493.485.—
1900. . . .	Paris	. .	. .	. .
1904. . . .	St. Louis	4.600.000	438.000	5.038.000.—

DATE	WHERE HELD	TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS	BALANCE AMOUNT	GRAND TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS AND BALANCE	(EQUAL TO GRAND TOTAL RECEIPTS)
1851. . . .	London.	1.694.456.—	1.038.799.29	2.733.255.29	
1867. . . .	Paris	5.048.867.77	18.695.63	3.067.563.40	
1889. . . .	Paris	9.397.617.80	252.799.45	9.650.417.25	
1893. . . .	Chicago	32.785.200.44	434.234.18	33.219.434.62	
1900. . . .	Paris	23.010.561.47	1.368.845.05	24.379.406.52	
1904. . . .	St. Louis	32.019.101.59	140.687.11	32.159.788.70	

(Cont.) TABLE 5.

ADMISSIONS.

DATE	LOCATED	WHEN ADMISSION WAS CHARGED	EXPOSITION DAYS		FREE ADMISSION ONLY	FREE ADMISSIONS	
			OFFICIAL NUMBER	WHEN PART OF ALL WERE ADMITTED FREE		TOTAL	AVERAGE DAILY
1851. . .	London . . .	141	141	. .	. .	. .	. .
1855. . .	Paris. . . .	199	200	200	1	* 630.937	3.155
1862. . .	London . . .	171	171	170	. .	257.246	1.513
1867. . .	Paris. . . .	217	217	217	. .	* 4.140.141	19.079
1873. . .	Vienna . . .	. .	186	. .	. .	* 2.000.000	10.753
1876. . .	Philadelphia .	159	159	159	. .	1.906.692	11.992
1889. . .	Paris. . . .	185	185	185	. .	* 6.787.188	36.687
1893. . .	Chicago. . .	179	179	183	4	6.059.380	33.111
1900. . .	Paris. . . .	211	212	212	1	* 11.652.124	54.963
1904. . .	St. Louis . .	185	185	185	. .	6,890.239	37.244

DATE	LOCATED	TOTAL AT GATE	PAID ADMISSIONS		AVERAGE DAILY	FREE ADMISSIONS ON ANY ONE DAY	
			TOTAL ADMISSIONS BY COUPONS OR SEASON TICKETS	GRAND TOTAL PAID ADMISSIONS		LARGEST NUMBER	SMALLEST NUMBER
1851. . .	London . . .	5.265.429	777.376	6.039.195	42.831	. .	. .
1855. . .	Paris. . . .	* 4.433.593	* 97.800	* 4.531.393	22.771	105.022	. .
1862. . .	London . . .	5.124.617	829.240	5.953.857	34.818	. .	. .
1867. . .	Paris. . . .	8.912.806	* 770.808	9.683.614	44.625	. .	. .
1873. . .	Vienna . . .	* 5.254.687	. .	5.254.687	28.251	. .	. .
1876. . .	Philadelphia .	8.004.274	. .	8.004.274	50.341	110.500	2.468
1889. . .	Paris. . . .	* 25.398.609	* 164.500	25.563.109	138.179	57.233	7.007
1893. . .	Chicago. . .	21.480.141	. .	21.480.141	120.001	47.269	5.641
1900. . .	Paris. . . .	* 39.027.177	* 181.500	39.208.677	185.823	85.787	20.922
1904. . .	St. Louis . .	11.828.984	975.632	12.804.616	69.214	84.968	22.837

DATE	LOCATED	PAID ADMISSIONS ON ANY ONE DAY		FREE & PAID ADMISSIONS ON ANY ONE DAY		ATTENDANCE PERCENTAGE	
		LARGEST NUMBER	SMALLEST NUMBER	LARGEST NUMBER	SMALLEST NUMBER	FREE	PAID
1851. . .	London . . .	109.915	9.327	109.915	9.327	. .	. .
1855. . .	Paris. . . .	123.017	. .	123.017	. .	.122	.878
1862. . .	London . . .	. .	. .	67.891	5.615	.041	.959
1867. . .	Paris. . . .	184.405	1.602	184.405	1.602	.299	.701
1873. . .	Vienna . . .	. .	. .	139.073	. .	.275	.725
1876. . .	Philadelphia .	257.169	7.056	274.919	12.720	.19	.81
1889. . .	Paris. . . .	387.877	36.322	420.647	59.947	.21	.79
1893. . .	Chicago. . .	716.881	10.791	761.942	19.524	.22	.78
1900. . .	Paris. . . .	595.438	34.979	652.082	73.565	.73	.77
1904. . .	St. Louis . .	358.403	9.030	404.450	48.875	.35	.65

All amounts or numbers marked by an " * ", are estimated from the best sources available.
 (2) This is the largest number with the exception of Nov. 7 - 449.634 - all admitted free.

(Cont.) TABLE 5.

DATE	LOCATED	ATTENDANCE ON EXPOSITION DAYS		PRE-EXPOSITION PERIOD		POST EXPOSITION PERIOD	
		GRAND TOTAL FREE & PAID	DAILY AVERAGES FREE & PAID	PAID ADMISSIONS	ADMISSIONS \$ RECEIPTS	PAID RECEIPTS	ADMISSION \$ RECEIPTS
1851. . .	London. . .	6.039.195	42.831	. .	. .	. .	. .
1855. . .	Paris. . .	5.162.330	25.812	. .	. .	. .	. .
1862. . .	London. . .	6.211.103	36.322	. .	. .	. .	. .
1867. . .	Paris. . .	* 13.823.755	63.704	129.639	25.020.46	20.520	2.029.67
1873. . .	Vienna . . .	* 7.254.687	39.004	. .	. .	. .	. .
1876. . .	Philadelphia .	9.910.966	62.333	. .	. .	43.327	19.912.—
1889. . .	Paris. . .	32.350.297	174.866	. .	. .	* 117.376	. .
1893. . .	Chicago. . .	27.539.521	153,700	. .	282.641.97	. .	31.666.50
1900. . .	Paris. . .	50.860.801	239.909	. .	. .	. .	. .
1904. . .	St. Louis . .	19.694.855	106.459	. .	175.906.25	. .	19.510.75

DATE	LOCATED	EXPOSITION PERIOD ADMISSION RECEIPTS		
		TOTAL RECEIPTS	AVERAGE PRICE \$ OF ADMISSION	AVERAGE DAILY \$ RECEIPTS
1851.	London.	2.062.172.94	.341	14.625.34
1855.	Paris	618.079.61	.136	3.105.93
1862.	London.	1.987.907.38	.320	11.625.25
1867.	Paris	1.870.212.18	.193	8.618.49
1873.	Vienna.	964,216.90	.183	5.183.96
1876.	Philadelphia	3.813.724.49	.476	23,985.69
1889.	Paris	4.165.624.60	.163	22.516.89
1893.	Chicago	10.336.065.75	.481	57.743.38
1900.	Paris	13.219.253.94	.337	62.650.49
1904.	St. Louis	6.047.936.95	.472	32.691.55

All amounts or numbers marked by an “*”, are estimated from the best sources available.
(2) This is the largest number with the exception of Nov. 7 - 449.634 - all admitted free.

TABLE 6, APPENDIX II.

Promotion of Friendship and Peace:

The co-operation of the nations in the management of enterprises common to them all, the mingling of the people at the great World Centre would lead to a better understanding, to a closer relation and to peace. A continuous reign of peace would be an enormous economic advantage to the world. War always means the employment of large bodies of men and large amounts of capital in an unproductive enterprise. It always means loss of life and limb and an increase in the number dependent. The following table * indicates the number of men engaged, the number lost and the cost of all the important wars during the last century and a quarter, excluding the Balkan and present wars.

WARS AND THEIR COST.

DATES	COUNTRIES ENGAGED	COST	LOSS OF LIFE	ARMIES IN THE FIELD
		\$		
1793-1815.	England and France.	6,250,000,000	1,900,000	3,000,000
1812-1815.	France and Russia	450,625,000	—	1,500,000
1828.	Russia and Turkey	100,000,000	120,000	—
1830-1840.	Spain and Portugal (civil war)	250,000,000	160,000	300,000
1830-1847.	France and Algeria	190,000,000	110,000	150,000
1848.	Revolts in Europe	50,000,000	60,000	—
1845.	United States and Mexico.	—	10,000	90,100
1854-1856.	England.	371,000,000	609,797	1,460,000
	France	332,000,000		
	Sardinia and Turkey	128,000,000		
	Austria	68,600,000		
1859.	Russia.	800,000,000	24,000	128,000
	France	75,000,000		
	Austria	127,000,000		
	Italy	51,000,000		
1861-1865.	The Rebellion	5,000,000,000	294,400	2,041,600
			200,000	750,000
1864.	Denmark, Prussia and Austria	36,000,000	—	—
1866.	Prussia and Austria	330,000,000	57,000	639,000
1864-1870.	Brazil, Argentine and Paraguay	240,000,000	330,000	—
1865-1866.	France and Mexico	65,000,000	65,000	100,000
1870-1871.	France	1,580,000,000	311,000	1,713,009
	Germany	954,400,006		
1876-1877.	Russia	806,547,489	180,000	1,500,000
	Turkey	403,273,745		
1898.	Spain and the United States.	1,165,000,000	20,000	300,000
1900-1901.	Transvaal Republic and England.	1,000,100,000	91,000	400,000
1904-1905.	Russia and Japan	2,500,000,000	555,900	2,500,000
Expense of wars, 1793-1860				\$ 9,243,225,000
Expense of wars, 1861-1910				» 14,080,321,240
Total				\$ 23,323,546,240
Loss of life, military service				5,098,097
Armies in the field				16,822,200

* Reproduced from *The Cost of Living*, Massachusetts 1910, page 202.

Total Imports of Merchandise for Home Consumption 1907 to 1917.

(Figures taken from the "Statistical Abstract of Foreign countries", Parts 1-3 as prepared by the Department of Commerce, Bureau of Statistics of the U. S. Government).

Year			Year		
\$			1000 \$		
1000 £			1000 £		
UNITED STATES	1907	1.434.421.425	RUSSIA	1907	89.444
»	1908	1.194.341.792	»	1908	96.336
»	1909	1.311.920.224	»	1909	95.669
»	1910	1.556.947.430	»	1910	114.469
»	1911	1.527.226.105	»	1911	122.622
»	1912	1.653.264.934	»	1912	123.689
»	1913	1.813.008.243			
			AUSTRIA HUNGARY	1907	104.249
		1000 \$	»	1908	99.921
		1000 £	»	1909	114.430
UNITED KINGDOM	1907	2.695.711	»	1910	118.869
			»	1911	132.998
GERMANY	1907	430.144	»	1912	148.200
»	1908	376.941			
»	1909	419.239	ITALY	1907	532.775
»	1910	439.260	»	1908	116.531
»	1911	477.197	»	1909	124.468
»	1912	225.661	»	1910	129.839
			»	1911	135.572
FRANCE	1907	1.201.031	»	1912	148.007
»	1908	225.620			
»	1909	249.844	AUSTRALIA	1907	51.809.033
»	1910	286.932	»	1908	49.799.273
»	1911	322.632	»	1909	51.171.896
»	1912	329.282	»	1910	60.014.351
NETHERLANDS	1907	1.068.823	JAPAN	1907	246.545
»	1908	234.158	»	1908	46.150
»	1909	259.009	»	1909	41.407
»	1910	269.474			
»	1911	276.317	ARGENTINA	1907	275.856
»	1912	297.328			
			BULGARIA	1907	4.986.000
BELGIUM	1907	707.449	»	1908	5.206.000
»	1908	113.097	»	1909	6.417.000
»	1909	148.173			
»	1910	170.598	DENMARK	1907	43.826
»	1911	180.339	»	1908	39.543
»	1912	198.320	»	1909	40.280
			»	1910	35.245

Total Imports of Merchandise for Home Consumption 1907 to 1917.

	Year	1000 \$	1000 £		Year	1000 \$	1000 £
GREECE	1907	28.640		MEXICO	1907	103.248	
»	1908		6.185	»	1908		23.638
»	1909		5.502	»	1909		15.979
				»	1910		19.893
NORWAY	1907	94.491		CHILE	1907		22.026
»	1908		20.896	»	1908		20.045
»	1909		21.479	»	1909		19.656
»	1910		23.846	»	1910		22.311
PORTUGAL	1907		13.827	URUGUAY. . . .	1907		7.806
»	1908		15.131	»	1908		7.803
ROUMANIA	1907		17.220	»	1909		8.158
»	1908		16.562	»	1910		8.573
SERBIA	1907	13.623		CHINA	1907	332.228	
»	1908		3.025	»	1908		54.607
»	1909		2.941	»	1909		55.884
				»	1910		64.161
SWEDEN	1907		37.895	INDIA	1907	380.373	
»	1908		33.830	»	1908	442.822	
»	1909		34.267				
SWITZERLAND . . .	1907		69.447	EGYPT	1907		£ 26.801.000
»	1908		61.359	»	1908		25.754.000
»	1909		65.684	»	1909		22.809.000
»	1910		71.516	»	1910		24.166.000

Total Exports of Merchandise from 1907 to 1917.

(Figures taken from " Statistical Abstract of Foreign Countries ,, Parts 1-3 as prepared by the Department of Commerce, Bureau of Statistics of the U. S. Government).

	Year	\$		Year	\$
UNITED STATES .	1907	1.853.718.034			1000 \$
»	1908	1.834.786.357	AUSTRIA HUNGARY	1907	1000 £
»	1909	1.638.355.593	»	1908	102.387
»	1910	1.710.083.998	»	1909	93.970
»	1911	2.013.594.025	»	1910	96.619
»	1912	2.170.319.828			100.775
»	1913	1.428.506.358	ITALY	1907	370.000
		1000 \$	»	1908	69.171
		1000 £	»	1909	74.676
			»	1910	83.199
UNITED KINGDOM	1907	2.073.300			£
»	1908		AUSTRALIA . . .	1907	72.824.247
»	1909		» . . .	1908	64.311.058
»	1910		» . . .	1909	65.318.836
»	1911		» . . .	1910	74.491.150
GERMANY . . .	1907	336.605	JAPAN	1907	215.341
» . . .	1908	314.627	»	1908	1000 £
» . . .	1909	324.215	»	1909	39.270
» . . .	1910	367.506			43.043
			ARGENTINA . . .	1907	285.857
			» . . .	1908	73.201
FRANCE	1907	1.080.047	» . . .	1909	79.470
»	1908	202.028	» . . .	1910	74.525
»	1909	228.724			
»	1910	249.352	BRAZIL	1907	255.113
			»	1908	44.155
NETHERLANDS . .	1907	883.926	»	1909	63.724
» . .	1908	180.966			
» . .	1909	204.062	BULGARIA. . . .	1907	5.024
» . .	1910	218.403	»	1908	4.494
			»	1909	4.457
			»	1910	5.161
BELGIUM	1907	545.349			
»	1908	100.258	DENMARK. . . .	1907	23.159
»	1909	112.389	»	1908	24.418
»	1910	136.297	»	1909	24.657
			»	1910	26.965
RUSSIA	1907	111.151			
»	1908	105.371	GREECE	1907	22.398
»	1909	150.699	»	1908	4.429
			»	1909	4.067

Total *Exports* of Merchandise from 1907 to 1917.

	Year	1000 \$	1000 £		Year	1000 \$	1000 £
NORWAY	1907	58.953		CHILE	1907		21.006
»	1908		11.736	»	1908		23.936
»	1909		13.036	»	1909		22.343
»	1910		14.881	»	1910		23.791
PORTUGAL	1907		6.842				
»	1908		6.835	URUGUAY	1907		7.273
ROUMANIA	1907		22.161	»	1908		8.395
»	1908		15.177	»	1909		9.396
				»	1910		8.680
SERBIA	1907	15.728					
»	1908		3.110				
»	1909		3.719	CHINA	1907	210.976	
SWEDEN	1907		29.148	»	1908		36.888
»	1908		26.779	»	1909		44.051
»	1909		26.277	»	1910		51.274
SWITZERLAND . . .	1907		47.559				
»	1908		42.392	INDIA	1907	573.190	
»	1909		45.502	»	1908	575.158	
»	1910		48.965				
MEXICO	1907	61.893		EGYPT	1907		28.743
»	1908		24.780	»	1908		21.871
»	1909		23.592	»	1909		26.755
»	1910		26.546	»	1910		29.698

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